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Y.M.C.A. PUBLISHING HOUSE, 5 Russell Street, CALCUTTA



H R Fenger

ARE WE WILLING TO SACRIFICE
TO GIVE HIM THE EDUCATION HE NEEDS?

BETTER VILLAGE SCHOOLS

A Programme of Action

BY

MASON OLCOTT, PH.D.

VILLAGE SCHOOL COUNCIL, ARCOT ASSEMBLY

Being the Third Edition of
Village Schools in India
Completely Rewritten

Y.M.C.A. PUBLISHING HOUSE
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1937

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MYSORE CITY

DEDICATED TO
RAJ AND ANNAL



AND TO ALL INDIA'S
HUNDRED MILLION
VILLAGE CHILDREN
EACH DESERVING
UNBOUNDED RESPECT,
UNTIRING SERVICE
AND UNENDING LOVE

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PROLOGUE

CONDITIONS DEMANDING ATTENTION

ONE-SIXTH of the human race dwells in the villages of India. Eight out of every nine Indians are rural. Over 90 per cent of these are entirely illiterate. To give them the education they need, more adequate schools and teachers are imperatively called for. This book seeks to throw light on the complex problems of reforming village schools and transforming the teaching force.

About 30 million men and women are being given the franchise. Unless they grow in judgment and character, they are likely to become a menace to themselves, to India and to the world. No government can rise higher than its source. This indeed is a 'race between education and catastrophe.' More and more closely bound together by quicker communications, people throughout the whole world are sure to suffer eventually if the sixth of their number residing in rural India continue as slaves to disease and superstition. But if India is adequately educated, in the remotest hamlets as well as in the towns, she promises to enrich world civilization with even greater gifts than her priceless treasures of the past in the fields of religion, philosophy, art, literature and mathematics.

Millions of men and women are on fire with an impetuous love for their Mother Country, and with bitter impatience at anything which they believe stands in the way of her freest development. They have made great sacrifices and are ready for more. Even the illiterate masses have shaken off their ancient apathy and are taking part in organized public movements. The national upheaval has generated mighty forces, powerful either for good or for ill, depending on how they are directed. Education must take its full part in utilizing these new energies for constructive achievement.

Staggering are the difficulties that stand in the way of village education adequately helping during the present crisis. India without Burma has over 300 million villagers requiring education, and scattered in 664,426 villages or in probably 1,500,000 hamlets with an average population of 200, including 28 children of school-going age. A large number of these hamlets are still further subdivided by rigid barriers of caste and religion, so that not many parents are willing to send their children to the same school. Most rural people want their girls either at home or in separate schools from boys.

The villagers are sunk in as bitter poverty as anywhere in the world, a large fraction being always on the verge of starvation. Their agricultural production is extremely low, and much of what they do earn is used up in exorbitant interest, high taxes, drink and on deeply entrenched, injurious social customs. The defenceless cultivator is also exploited by middle men and others. The appalling health conditions spring from poverty and in turn cause deeper poverty. For these reasons, among others, the ordinary villager has little money for schools and withdraws his children from attendance the moment they can supplement the family income.

Teachers with little education and often no training are left by themselves in lonely hamlets and expected to accomplish a most baffling task, confronted by many parents' opposition or indifference to their children's education. The teachers are hastily inspected by a low educational functionary once or twice a year, but they receive almost no constructive guidance or encouragement from him or anyone else. Their meagre salaries allow them and their families barely to exist in squalid discontent.

To solve these knotty problems of village education, broad constructive planning and joint enterprise are essential. Until the report of the Missionary Commission of Village Education in 1920, these had not been forthcoming, but since then many valuable investigations and successful experiments have been made. Many books on modern education have appeared. Conferences have done much to break down the previous lack of publicity about progressive educational ideas and enterprises. A real start has been made in the right direction but the immensity of the task still demands wise and courageous action.

PROBLEMS HERE CONSIDERED

The frequent changes recently occurring in India have necessitated extensive revision of *Village Schools in India*. This third edition appears completely rewritten, extensive changes having been made in every chapter and in the arrangement of the book as a whole.

The main problem remains the same, *How can we reform and extend village education and transform the teacher?* Rural schools cannot be understood or improved apart from rural life, for education and life interact at every point. The materials and methods of instruction are conditioned by the child's surroundings, for what he learns depends on his background. Education also moulds the life of children and adults, and through them helps to shape social conditions. The goals of the school are not confined within its four walls but extend outside where the pupils and their parents are living and working. We can best find the objectives of village education by carefully studying rural conditions and the required reforms. For this reason, before surveying education, this book takes up as its first broad enquiry, *What rural conditions need remaking?* This traces the facts of the struggle between the strength of inertia and the forces of progress. A successful outcome in (I) the economic, (II) the hygienic and (III) the social and civic field will depend largely on the effectiveness of education.

The second main enquiry is, *How can Education be Remade to Rebuild Village Life?* The great purpose of education is not individual advantage but the social advance which comes from persons being enabled to live abundantly and serve fruitfully. This enquiry is centred in the boys and girls who are now learning and living, and shows their possible development through vital courses (IV). Chapter V describes in what particulars village schools need overhauling. It is put after the curriculum because the school system should always serve the child. Next comes adult education in furtherance of progressive self-help, which in this revision has the separate chapter that it deserves.

The last enquiry is, *How can Teachers be Enabled to Reform Village Schools and Life?* In order to further the quality of dynamic rural education described in the second

enquiry, the teachers must have adequate equipment through professional courses (VII) and to this end the training schools must be operated (VIII). The last chapter tells of how supervision develops teachers in service, so that they can continue to make their maximum contribution.

Present conditions are briefly outlined in each chapter. Except under the first enquiry, concrete forward steps are presented, rather than unapplied abstract ideals. But the limits of this book have necessitated a cursory treatment of many important questions. The boundless potentialities of rural life and education call for many careful studies.

For any understanding that has come to me of education and life, I am indebted to a host of friends, including the Fraser Commission on Village Education, my professors at Teachers College, Columbia University, my colleagues in school supervision, rural teachers and peasants. Many libraries in India, America and England have kindly let me use their books. I am also grateful to the heads of many schools in America, Japan, China, the Philippines and all Provinces of India and several Indian States for allowing me to see their work and talk over with them our common problems. Various conferences on education and rural reconstruction have also been a great help.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The name, *India*, designates the Indian Federation of the Provinces and States. Although census figures include the Indian States, most of the educational figures refer only to British India, usually to recognized institutions.

This study follows the census definition of *village*, namely, a non-urban unit used for revenue purposes, having an average of 452 people and 91 occupied houses. Most villages are divided into several population centres or hamlets which may be a mile or two apart. In the Madras Presidency they outnumber the revenue villages more than three to one. If the same proportion holds for all India, the country may have over two million population centres, or to be on the safe side, say one and a half million. Many of these are inhabited by the caste Hindus or Muslims, the rest by the Depressed Classes. These population centres, or collections of rural huts, average 200 people with 28 children of school-going age (6 to 11).

The people live in cramped quarters and walk daily to their fields, which may lie at long distances. In these pages, rural is used interchangeably with village, since it is only in the extreme south-west and a few other areas that people live in the open country apart from other dwellings.

Primary schools may have courses covering five or six years, but only 11 per cent of the children in the first class ever reach the fifth. The middle schools continue about three more years.

Training institutions working on the collegiate level are designated training colleges; those on a lower level, training schools or classes.

One *rupee* equals about one-thirteenth of a pound sterling or over one-third of an American dollar. An *anna* is one-sixteenth of a rupee. A *lakh* is 100,000 and a *crore* 100 lakhs.

In quoting from educational reports, usually one province and the date when the official year ended are given. For example, '*Punjab 1928*' means the Report on Education in the Punjab for the official year 1927-28. Educational figures are drawn from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education*, 1927-32, unless otherwise stated.

A STERN CHALLENGE TO THE GENTLE READER

The facts in these pages call for resolute action. Pressing problems of such great urgency to India cannot be fully solved without the co-operation of you who read these pages. Every one may visualize the conditions as they are and be concerned with them, even without visiting India. I have tried to present the facts without prejudice or passion, but trust that they will rouse your interest and kindle a determination to help wherever you can.

Readers who know India can go further. You can make detailed studies of your local conditions. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of such original research, which will prove far more valuable than any amount of second-hand information. In order to lay a sound basis for advance, at each point you may ask yourself what trustworthy knowledge you have as to local needs, resources and practical steps forward. To judge my proposals is also your work. Where they do not suit your situation, find and pass on something better.

Best of all, many can undertake some practical village service or enable others to serve. Town-dwellers can visit the villages to make first-hand, sympathetic contacts with the peasants, whose simple earnestness more than compensates for their narrow experience. Students and others should open their eyes to the benefits they can gain and give by serving the villagers. I hope they will follow in the footsteps of the college men and women with whom during three summer vacations by a number of means I have been helping rural people to find fuller life. The kind of work will depend on circumstances. This book may help equip them for greater effectiveness. Earnestly I hope that many educated young men and women will decide to enter full-time service of rural people, endued with a deep sense of vocation to reform village schools and remake rural life. The little hamlets scattered over the face of India can never thrive if every one talks of their welfare and leaves others to work in them. But through a great forward movement, based on wholehearted devotion and personal helpfulness, our rural brothers and sisters can grow into fuller lives and greater capacity for self-help and self-direction.

FIRST ENQUIRY:

WHAT RURAL CONDITIONS
NEED REMAKING?

The vast majority of the population of India have always lived and still live by agriculture, and of that vast majority the greater part have always lived and still live on the edge of hunger—submissive to the immutable laws of Nature and climatic conditions peculiar to India, and to the almost equally immutable laws of India's social and religious evolution through the ages.

—SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

CHAPTER I

THE PEASANTS' ECONOMIC BURDENS INCREASE

*A. How does Climate Affect the Rural Population?—
B. What are the Facts about Land?—C. How Successful
are Agriculture and Pasturage?—D How can Cottage
Industries Serve?—E. What Outside Contacts Have the
Villagers?—F What are Their Income and Expenditure?—
G. How Heavily does Debt Burden Them?—H. How Far
is Child Labour Unavoidable?—I. How do These Facts
Bear on Education?*

A. HOW DOES CLIMATE AFFECT THE RURAL POPULATION?

VOLUMES would be needed to treat adequately rural economic conditions, for exceptions can be raised to most general statements. The limits of this chapter permit giving only a few salient and typical facts.

During the past ten years India's population has increased by 34 millions, and her rural population by 28 millions, to 314 millions. Even without Burma, the villagers of India number over 300,000,000 which equals the combined populations of North and South America, Germany and France. The town-dwellers add as many as England's people. India without Burma has an area of 1,571,187 square miles, or 12 per cent of the extent of the British Empire, and holds 71 per cent of all King Edward's subjects.

Indian villagers live as far north as Gibraltar or Tokyo, and others 2,000 miles to the south, at the latitude of Liberia or of the Orinoco river, eight degrees north of the equator. People on the western edge of Baluchistan are over 2,100 miles from those in the Assam hills on the east,

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for India stretches from the 61st to 97th meridian east of Greenwich.

India, without Burma, has 664,426 revenue villages, averaging 452 each. Places of less than 2,000 contain 86 per cent of the villagers. The number of hamlets or clusters of houses may be roughly estimated at a million and a half, while there are only 2,483 towns and cities. Of all the people, only 11 per cent live in places classed as urban, while in Japan and the United States 56 per cent live in places so classed, in Germany 62 per cent, and in England 80 per cent.

The mean densities per square mile for several countries are:

England ...	701	France ...	197
Belgium ...	678	India ..	196
Japan ...	443	United States ..	41
Germany ...	358	Canada ..	3

Large cultivated areas in India have as dense a population as England. Nearly half the people live on a sixth of the area. British India has 248 and the Indian States 114 persons to the square mile. The main factors promoting dense population in India are: good rainfall, irrigation, evenness of surface, richness of soil and small amount of malaria.

The northern half of India lies in the temperate zone and stretches nearly a thousand miles north of the Tropic of Cancer. This continental part of India is roughly triangular and contains the world's highest mountains with valleys so rugged as to afford little sustenance for human life. But south of the mountains the great alluvial plain supports over a hundred million people and forms the most densely populated tract of its size on earth.

Peninsular India extends far south from the Tropic of Cancer. Its interior is an elevated plateau bounded by broken ranges of hills and mountains on all three sides, which in the far south rise to a height of 8,760 feet. Except along the coasts and rivers, it is geologically so old as not to contain marine fossils. In this particular it contrasts strikingly with the upstart Himalayas, which are far more recent. Every intervening epoch is represented in the Indian Empire. Along the shores of the Arabian sea and Bay of Bengal runs an alluvial strip of varying width, which formed the India known to the west in the Middle Ages.

Although India has differences of temperature and rainfall

that are without parallel in any other country, few people live in places of the most excessive cold and heat. The main climatic features affecting most of the people may be roughly summarized.

MONTHS	AVERAGE PER CENT OF RAINFALL			WEATHER
January-February	..	2	..	Dry and cool.
March-May	..	10	...	Dry, with increasing heat.
June-September	.	77	.	South-west monsoon period, with increasing coolness
October-December	..	11	...	Retreating south-west (or north-east) monsoon period. Rains along south-east coast.

The Indian cultivator, with a growing season from eight to twelve months, has an advantage over his brother in colder climes, whose growing season is shortened by frost and snow. The hot, dry months of April and May are the least favourable for plant growth. The great heat from March to June and the blazing sun at noonday tend to lower the villagers' energy and capacity for intensive work. Instead of working hard and then taking a complete rest like the Westerner, the cultivator takes fewer hours for rest, but does not work so hard.

For the 240 odd millions of Indians who obtain their livelihood from agriculture, water is the supremely important factor. Where the supply is sufficient, two or even three crops a year are grown on the same land; and better crops are made possible. On a seventh of India's cropped area, two crops are grown. The average rainfall of 45 inches would be satisfactory, if it were only well distributed from year to year, from season to season and from place to place. The following is the average rainfall for the various provinces: Assam and Bengal, each 61; Bihar and Orissa, 45; Central Provinces, 41; United Provinces, 36; Bombay, 34; Madras, 26; Punjab, 14; and North-west Frontier Province, 5.

The most serious drawback is the wide variation of rainfall from year to year. The average five years contain one good year when the farmer need not borrow, three indifferent years when he borrows for cultivation expenses, and one bad year when he incurs debt for everything. Scarcely a year passes

that some district does not suffer from scarcity or famine. Twenty-two famines between 1860 and 1910 carried off 28 millions.¹ The governments have elaborated careful schemes of famine relief, including: suspension of revenue, granting of loans, plans for public works that can be quickly started to employ thousands of people, free relief to those who cannot work at all, means of saving the cattle, and the enlistment of unofficial help. The main factor increasing the number of deaths during famine are inability to buy grain at high prices, unemployment, low earning capacity, epidemics of cholera and other diseases. During severe famines, millions of acres will not produce so much as a blade of grass.

The 45 inches of average rainfall is also unevenly distributed from season to season, 35 inches of it coming during the heavy downpours from June to September. Therefore one of India's most pressing problems is to spread the water supply to those months when the crops need it most. The irrigation systems introduced by the British have been an enormous boon to the cultivator.

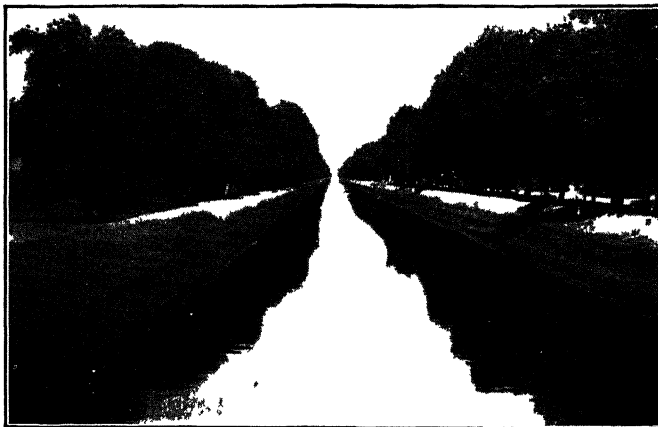
MAIN METHODS OF IRRIGATION	MILLIONS OF ACRES WATERED (1932)
Government canals	.. 21 6
Wells	11 7
Tanks	. 6 2
Private canals	. 3 6
Other sources	. 5 7

This total of 49 million acres is well over twice the area of irrigation of the United States and a fifth of the world total. There are 15 million acres of irrigated land in the Punjab, 10 in the United Provinces, 9 in Madras, 5 in Bihar and Orissa, and 4 in Bombay. The last figure will mount up with the completion of works now being built. Irrigation benefits 19 million acres of rice and 10 million of wheat.

B. WHAT ARE THE FACTS ABOUT LAND?

India contains 18 per cent of the world's population, but only 3.5 per cent of the land surface. Without Burma, British India's land is classified as follows:

¹ G. S. Eddy, *India Awakening*, p. 22.



IRRIGATION FOR FIFTY MILLION ACRES

Life giving water, brought from Himalayan snows and southern rivers, enables deserts and arid lands to support the teeming population. The canals of the North have been built by British engineers, but some of the great storage tanks of Madras date back over a millenium



FARMING METHODS FIFTY CENTURIES OLD

H R Ferger

The peasant still barely scratches the surface with a wooden stick pointed with iron. The gross value of his crops in Madras alone have fallen between 1929 and 1934 from 165 to 80 crores while land revenue has increased

MILLION ACRES

Cultivated—Net area actually sown	201
Cultivated—Current fallows	45
Not cultivated—Other cultivable waste	95
Not cultivated—Not available for cultivation	93
Forests	66

The country has small areas where a poor livelihood can be obtained with little labour, and also deserts where no amount of labour would afford a living, but most of the surface is covered by soil on which man must labour to exist in the sweat of his brow. The soils of India may be broadly classified in order of their importance: (a) the fertile, water-holding alluvial clay of the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra valleys and of the deltas along the coast; (b) the heavy, black cotton soil around Bombay, the west of the Peninsula and some other areas; (c) the sandy and porous soils of the east of the Peninsula; and (d) the red laterite soils in a belt around South India. Few soils in the world have been cropped so continuously with next to no fertilization as those of India. Consequently their productivity is low, except where rivers in flood leave a layer of silt over the land. The main defect is the low amount of organic matter, which is rapidly lessening through the burning of huge quantities of cattle dung as fuel. The immense total of soil annually eroded by water seriously reduces the cultivable area. Most of the water from heavy rains, instead of sinking into the soil runs off, carrying the finer particles and the combined nitrogen. The swollen torrents often waterlog the lower areas. On the more valuable crops, the cultivator sometimes uses green manure, cattle dung, oil cake or a little artificial fertilizer. The proper husbanding of soil fertility is one of India's most imperative needs.

The position of the villager is largely determined by his relation to land, whether he has any ownership or fixed tenancy rights, and whether he himself cultivates the land. The different land tenure systems of the various parts of India are extremely complicated. The 1931 *Census* divides the 103 million workers actually engaged in ordinary cultivation into four classes: (a) The 4 million landlords either live on the rents of the land they lease to others or cultivate their lands entirely by the agency of hired labour. Landlords who

neither cultivate nor supervise the work are an unproductive encumbrance on the land and often mercilessly exploit the farmers. Sometimes in Bengal a dozen landlords of various kinds exact their toll on the same plot of land between the cultivator and government. Between 1926 and 1931, the number of persons in Madras holding land deeds paying Government Rs. 10 and less fell from 7,669 to 4,381 thousand, showing how rapidly small landholders are being squeezed out by large landlords. The non-cultivating classes in Madras supported by agriculture increased from 20 to 77 per thousand workers between 1901 and 1921. (b) The 28 million cultivating owners farm their own land. (c) The 36 million tenant cultivators lease others' lands. Large numbers of them have a bitter struggle for existence, toiling from sunrise to sunset, sleeping in unventilated huts and limited to eating coarse grain that scarcely keeps body and soul together. (d) But the lot of the 34 million landless field servants and labourers, who have no way even to lease land, is even more wretched, for people take advantage of their helplessness to maltreat them. They have no rights at all in the soil, often have no regular work, and are forced to exist almost on the brute level. The above figures are for earners only. The number of dependents is about one and a quarter times as many. For example, for landless field servants and labourers, the number of dependents is about 42 million, and the total persons supported by them, 76 million, or 21 per cent of the total population.

Land-owners, whether cultivating or not, frequently control too small amounts of land to employ their time profitably. Here are recent figures for the acreage of cultivated land per farmer in different parts of India, and in various countries:

PROVINCE			COUNTRY ¹		
Bombay	...	12.2	Canada	..	140
Punjab	...	9.2	United States	...	87
Central Provinces		8.5	United Kingdom		26
Madras	...	4.9	France	...	13
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	..	3.1	Germany	...	12
Assam	...	3.0	Japan	...	4.2
United Provinces	...	2.5	British India	...	3.3

¹ These figures are from Sir M. Visvesvaraya, *Planned Economy for India*

‘A thorough study of the situation has been made only in the Punjab.’

PFR CENT OF CULTIVATORS	HOLDING IN ACRES
22.5	0 — 1
15.4	1 — 2.5
17.9	2.5 — 5
20.5	5 — 10
23.7	10 and over

Darling says that even the 8 to 10 acres commonly cultivated in the Punjab is wholly insufficient to maintain the peasant in decency, independence and comfort.¹ Mann tells of the average acreage in a village near Poona decreasing as follows: 1771 (40), 1818 (17.5), 1820–40 (14), 1915 (7). For India as a whole the number of cultivated acres per head of agricultural population has steadily fallen: 1891 (1.44), 1901 (1.32), 1911 (1.25) and 1921 (1.17).

Even more serious than the smallness of a man's holding is its fragmentation into many plots widely separated from each other, which is a disastrously uneconomic drain. ‘There are innumerable cultivators whose total holdings amount to one acre or less, and even these tiny areas are often split up into a number of disconnected fragments. Not infrequently some of the component parts are so small that the owner cannot cultivate them without trespassing on his neighbour's land. In the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency, individual plots are sometimes as small as 1/160 part of an acre.’² Some of the evil effects are: waste of time, prevention of permanent improvement of the land and orderly organization of labour and capital, and serious interference with cultivation. The causes of the trouble are the Hindu law of inheritance calling for a division of all property, no matter how small, and the customs connected with that law by which each child receives a part of every plot owned by the deceased. The Punjab Co-operative Department has made distinct progress in the voluntary consolidation of holdings.

The leasing of others' fields for cultivation is very common, both by those with and without land of their own. Custom

¹ *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 281.

² *India in 1929–30*, p. 117.

largely determines the rent, which is commonly a share of the produce, sometimes as much as a half. The various efforts of the provincial governments to protect the rights of tenants and small owners have been difficult to enforce. It has proved almost impossible to insure fair treatment for sub-tenants and those who lease land from them. Those who possess no land are eager to do so, because ownership gives social prestige and prevents profits being eaten up by high rents, and because land is one of the standard forms of investment. These people are debarred from the greater steadiness, self-respect and thrift which land ownership tends to develop.

The Central Government for long centuries had a vital interest in the land as one of its main sources of revenue, and the Provincial Governments are now getting larger funds from this than from any other source. The land revenue in 1923 formed 18 per cent of the total revenues from all sources. It rose from 250 to 327 million rupees between 1914 and 1926, during which time the purchasing power of the rupee considerably declined. The State considers itself the supreme landlord and appropriates a direct share in the produce of the soil, the money owed to the Government being the first liability of the land. The revenue to be received from each piece of land is determined directly, without assessing its value or fixing a certain part of the value for payment. The process of determining the payment for a certain kind of land is known as settlement, which is either 'permanent' or 'temporary' (lasting about thirty years). The main varieties of tenure are three: (a) that in which a large landlord, or *samindar*, passes on a portion of the rent received by him; (b) that in which the cultivator, or *ryot*, enters into a direct compact with the government as to the amount to be paid; and (c) that in which the village as a whole is jointly responsible for the payment to the government. Methods of revenue collection differ within the same province and even within the same district. Under the second form of tenure, one-fifth of the gross produce is the limit in practice. When the crops fail, the government may remit or postpone payment after detailed enquiry. The average incidence of the land revenue per head of all the people is in Berar, 2·9; Punjab, 2·5; Bombay, 2·2; Madras, 1·6

and United Provinces, 1.5 rupees.¹ The landholders complain of what they have to pay. Under present low standards of production and low prices of grain, the amount paid is large, if the yield were increased by better methods, the burden might be less. In 1926 the land revenue was 327 million rupees, and the Central and Provincial Governments spent 105 million on education of all kinds and 49 million on medicine and public health. A large part of this expenditure went to high salaried officers in the towns. The villagers who contribute so much to provincial revenues should receive larger direct benefits.

C. HOW SUCCESSFUL ARE AGRICULTURE AND PASTURAGE?

Eight-ninths of India's people live on the land, and 67.3 per cent of the workers have agriculture and pasturage as their main sources of income. This is on a somewhat different basis from the 1921 figure of 72.4 per cent so that the two figures are not really comparable. There are 104 million engaged in agriculture and 4 million in stock-raising. These figures exclude the dependents who are not working. The percentage of the working population engaged in various classes of occupation may be contrasted for different countries:²

	INDIA	JAPAN	UNITED STATES	ENGLAND AND WALES
Agriculture and fishing	.. 67.2	50.3	22.0	7.1
Industry and mining	... 10.2	19.5	31.7	47.2
Trade and transport	. 6.6	20.2	24.5	20.7
Liberal professions ...	.. 1.5	. .	7.0	4.4
Public administration	. 1.2	7.0	2.2	5.9

India's proportion of population engaged in agriculture is about three times that of the United States and nine times that of England, while India's percentage in industry is a third that of the United States and a fifth that of England.

The Indian farmer uses methods fixed by custom thousands of years ago; his equipment is both scanty and poor in quality. He is distinctly conservative and afraid of change. The common plough is an iron-pointed wooden stick that scratches

¹ Pillai, *Economic Conditions in India*, p. 97.

² Visvesvaraya, *Planned Economy for India*, pp 398-99

the ground without destroying the deeply rooted weeds' or turning over the soil. Easily repairable, light steel ploughs are now available. Departmental agencies sold 27,000 improved ploughs in 1929, the total number of ploughs in use being nearly 25 millions.

A rough kind of seed selection is practised by those well-to-do villagers who can afford to store grain from season to season, but poor cultivators can do nothing of the kind. In fact, often the worst grain is all that is left for seed. The agricultural departments have done splendid work in developing better yielding seed. In 1927 improved varieties were grown on these percentages of the total area for each crop: cotton, 23; jute, 14; wheat, 12; groundnuts, 10.¹ Better varieties have been introduced on over 12 million acres with an estimated gain of 140 million rupees.

Plant diseases and insect pests each destroy about a tenth of the value of crops raised in India. Animals, like rats and monkeys, also do serious damage. The cultivator is ignorant of how to combat all these foes. He is usually unwilling to kill animals. The loss of wheat from rust in Lyallpur district of the Punjab was estimated at over three million rupees for one year. The departments of agriculture have laboured hard with their meagre resources to combat these various enemies, but the ordinary cultivator cannot read the bulletins, and knows nothing of the valuable work being done for his benefit.

Lack of capital is another factor tending to perpetuate crude methods, primitive implements, and to lessen experiments and the use of fertilizers. Provided the farmer has enough funds, and the benefits have been thoroughly demonstrated to him, he is generally willing to adopt improvements.

Out of a total of 263 million acres sown in British India, 205 million are used for food grains. Rice is the great crop of the flat lands with warm climate and abundant rainfall or irrigation. In North and Central India, the great crop is winter wheat, a third of which is irrigated. The three varieties of millet form the staple food of millions. India leads the world in the production of rice, tea, oilseeds, the millets, shellac and jute. She comes second in the amount of

¹ *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 95.



A FARMER'S FIELD EQUIPMENT

This man with his two ploughs, bucket for raising water, crow bar and many sickles owns more than the average landholder
The landless cultivator often has no such equipment at all

THE PEASANTS' ECONOMIC BURDENS INCREASE 19

sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco. The chief exports are cotton, jute, wheat, and other grains, gram (or pulse), oilseeds, teas, hides and skins, the total per capita value being somewhat over five rupees. The crops most widely grown are (1932):¹

	MILLIONS OF ACRES		PROVINCES WITH THE 1ST	LARGEST ACREAGE 2ND
Rice	.. 81	..	Bengal	. Bihar and Orissa
Millets	. 36	..	Bombay	. Madras
Wheat	25	. .	Punjab	.. United Provinces
Gram	. 16	..	United Provinces	Punjab
Oil-seeds	16	... Madras	...	Central Provinces
Cotton	15	..	Central Provinces	Bombay
Fodder	10	..	Punjab	. Bombay

India's average yield of wheat per acre has been computed (for 1926), as 80 per cent that of the United States and 29 per cent that of Denmark. The rice yield is about one-third that of Italy. The cotton production per acre is two-thirds that of the United States and a fifth of Egypt's. Although India has nearly half the world's acreage under sugar-cane, her normal output is only a fourth of the world's cane sugar supply. The annual production per farmer have these rupee values. United Kingdom 2,201; United States 1,931; Germany 680; Japan 352; and India 196. Dr. Mann has written, 'A rise of 50 per cent. in the production of the land in India in the course of the next generation is not in any sense an utopian ideal.'

British India has 121 million cattle, far more than any other country. Most of them are poorly fed, weak and scrawny beasts. The Board of Agriculture estimated in 1924 that out of the 146 million cattle in British India, 16 million oxen and 8.5 million cows were entirely superfluous and that the annual cost of maintaining them was 176 crores of rupees. The bullocks draw ploughs and carts, and the cows bear calves and give a scanty milk supply—in Madras a quarter or third of an anna's worth in a day. Hindus reverence cows and other cattle, abhor beef-eating and will not countenance the slaughter even of the profitless animals. This renders cattle breeding very difficult, but not impossible; for example, in the Girgaon district of the Punjab the number of approved

¹ *Indian Year Book*, 1935. Other figures have also been derived from this source.

stud bulls was raised from 8 to 700, and 599 bad bulls were castrated in seven years. The cows of the 31 million water buffalo give far richer milk and are more useful for cultivating flooded land. The goats and sheep, numbering 39 and 23 million, are grown for their hair and wool, skins and meat. The 4 million horses, donkeys and camels are used for transportation, not for drawing ploughs. The thin rural poultry lay small eggs and are the village scavengers. But they have great possibilities. Note that the United States raises annually 3,000 million rupees worth of poultry products every year. Petaluma county in California alone produced 612 million eggs in 1926.

D HOW CAN COTTAGE INDUSTRIES SERVE?

Those engaged in agriculture and cottage industries are mutually dependent on each other, though not so exclusively so as used to be the case. The 1911 Census says:¹ 'Until the recent introduction of Western commodities, such as machine-made cloth, kerosene oil, umbrellas and the like, each village was provided with a complete equipment of artisans and menials, and was thus almost wholly self-supporting and independent. . . . Where this system was fully developed, the duties and remunerations of each group of artisans were fixed by custom, and the caste rules strictly prohibited a man from entering into competition with another of the same caste. They received a regular yearly payment for their services, which often took the form of a prescriptive share of the harvest. . . . The village is no longer the self-contained industrial unit which it formerly was, and many disintegrating influences are at work to break down the solidarity of village life.' Village relationships and occupations have both changed. Rural industries, that used to be so widespread as to make products in large quantities for use in Europe, have been hard pressed or destroyed by the competition first of European and now of Indian and Japanese factories. The rise in the value of farm products drew some artisans into farming. Plantations and mines took others away. Many now are starving.

The cottage industries for which India was famous in the

¹ *India*, I, p. 408.

18th century have thus been most seriously crippled, in spite of the fact that a century or more ago, the early products of British factories had to be protected by tariffs against India's excellent hand-made goods. The per cent of the population dependent on agriculture has risen from 61 in 1891 to 66 in 1901, 71 in 1911 and 73 in 1921¹

Thus we see three-quarters of India's 'eggs in one basket,' and the basket is dropped every few years and all the eggs broken. Agriculture, India's one predominant industry, is most precarious since success depends on the rainfall, which is irregular and uncertain. Bad agricultural years cause widespread distress. These could be far better borne if more income were derived from other sources.

The other vital necessity for cottage industries is that, during three to six months of the year, the ryot has little or no work on his crops, nor can he find work on his neighbours' fields in these months. Ploughing, sowing, transplanting, weeding and threshing can engage a cultivator on an outside estimate not more than ninety days of eight hours in a year.² Jobs on public works are rarely enough to go round. A small part of the villagers enter a city factory during the slack season if one is near them. The cultivators would greatly benefit from subsidiary occupations that they could follow during slack times. Women can also be a real help in Indian village industries as they are in Burma.

Are town and city industries the solution? Although only one-tenth of the population is supported by industry, India is the greatest industrial country in the tropics and the eighth greatest in the world. Between 1913 and 1926, India's share of the world's spindles rose from 4.2 to 5.2 per cent. These industries help reduce India's excessive dependence on agriculture. The troubles are that city labourers are now usually crowded together in vice-breeding slums and that the main benefit is pocketed by the mill owners.

Cottage industries can take an even larger share than city factories in enabling people to stand the shock of hard times. They can be undertaken in otherwise idle moments. Even

¹ The figures for 1931 are not comparable because of changes in classification

² *Final Report of Midnapore Settlement Operations* (Bengal), p. 115.

yet nearly two million persons are engaged in handloom weaving, as compared with the million and a half in cotton mills, the next largest non-agricultural industry. Sir M. Visvesvaraya estimates the production of large-scale industries at 140, and of small-scale industries at 262, crores. The products of handlooms can be used right in the villages without their going to a series of markets to enrich a series of middle men. Some other village handicrafts may never be resurrected with much benefit, but it is possible to find cottage industries that will succeed. They must be adapted to local conditions, use local materials, be possible to carry on during spare moments, and be productive of something that can be sold in the village or elsewhere. Some possible industries are: cotton spinning, poultry keeping, cattle breeding, bee keeping for honey and wax, and mulberry, eri or tusser silk cultivation. The Madras Government has issued a valuable survey of cottage industries. The All India Village Industries Association is attempting to revive some of the dead and dying industries. Co-operative societies and schools should do all they can to foster them.

E. WHAT OUTSIDE CONTACTS HAVE THE VILLAGERS?

The cultivator, having no place for storing much grain, is forced to sell most of his crops at harvest time when the price is very low. 'Estimates made by co-operators of the loss involved in selling a crop at harvest time (instead of a few months later, when prices have risen to a normal level) are rarely below ten rupees an acre; more generally they state the loss per acre at twenty or thirty rupees and sometimes higher still.'¹ The peasant's extremely difficult situation was thus summed up by the Industrial Commission: 'The export trade from country districts generally suffers from the existence of an undue number of middlemen who intercept a large share of the profits; the reasons for this are various. In the first place, it must be remembered that a great number of Indian cultivators are indebted to a class of traders who not only lend money, but lend, purchase and sell grain, and sell such articles as cloth, salt and oil to small consumers. The position of the peasant

¹ Hemingway, *Madras Co-operative Manual*, p. 15.

farmer, with grain, seeds and cotton to sell, and at the same time heavily indebted to his only possible purchaser, effectually prevents him from obtaining a fair market price for his crop. Even where the farmer is not burdened by debt, his purchases and sales are often both reckoned in cash in the dealer's books, at a rate which is not always known to the customer at the time. The farmer, owing partly to poverty and partly to the extreme subdivision of land, is very often a producer on so small a scale that it is practically impossible for him to take his crop to the larger markets . . . The market rules and organization do not usually provide means for preventing or punishing fraudulent trade methods. . . . Complaints are frequent, but all parties accept what appears to them inevitable. But, where a better organization has been established, the ryots thoroughly appreciate the benefit. A better market system, co-operative selling, and education are the most promising remedies.¹

Co-operative societies for joint purchase and sale are slowly springing up in various parts of India, but still number only a handful. When well managed, they are a great boon to the cultivator in marketing his crops.

For the transportation of crops and people, India has a system of good trunk roads, with 20 miles for every 100 square miles of area, while the United States has 80. India has 84 miles of road for every 100,000 people, and the United States has 2,550. These roads do not meet rural needs at all adequately. Often a village or hamlet has no communication with the outside world except an extremely narrow footpath between the rice fields. Where dirt cart tracks exist, they are frequently impassable to carts in the rainy season because of mud or swiftly rushing torrents, and in the dry season are hard going because of sand and dust.

The nearly six million bullock carts are still the vehicles predominantly used for transporting goods. Motor buses have recently increased with great rapidity and now move millions of people from place to place. In a few years motor trucks will be doing more of the marketing. India has 2,083 people to one motor car, Japan 729, England 30 and the United States 5.

¹ *Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, p. 5.

The railways have wrought great changes in the peasant's life by broadening his markets and quickening his own movements. The railway mileage grew from 5,369 in 1872 to 42,961 in 1933, which is double that of Great Britain, equal to that of Canada and more than any other country in the world, except the United States and Russia. Between 1901 and 1930, the goods carried rose from 43 to 88 million tons, and the number of passengers from 195 to 634 millions, nine-tenths of whom travel third class. Indian railways with one-sixth the mileage of those in the United States carry four-fifths as many passengers. India has ten miles of railway track per 10,000 people, while the whole world has only four. Sir Daniel Hamilton wrote, 'We have given the people a railway system which removes their surplus crops, but we have not yet given them a banking system to bring back the price. The world takes the surplus crops, the *sowcar* (moneylender) and the trader take the money and the devil takes the people.'¹

India has 4,008 miles of waterway. The lower reaches of the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, Godavery and Kistna and the many coast ports are served by small steamers. In 1928 India had 3.74 per cent of the world's exports, being excelled only by five countries, and imported 2.64 per cent of the world totals, standing ninth. Three-quarters of her exports are raw materials and three-quarters of her imports manufactured goods.

'The coming of the railway and the steamship' (according to the *Indian Industrial Commission*, page 2) 'the opening of the Suez Canal, and the extension of peace and security by the growth of the British power, have brought about very great changes. In earlier times, every village not only grew most of its own food, but either provided from its own resources or obtained from close at hand its few simple wants.' The Commission reports an increasing degree of local specialization in particular crops, especially those grown for export, and further says: 'Markets have sprung up on or near the railway, where the foreign exporters or the larger Indian collecting firms have their agencies; and the ryot is now not far behind hand in his knowledge of the fluctuation

¹ 'India, Her Present and Future,' *Calcutta Review*, July, 1916, p. 295

in the world prices of the principal crops which he grows. Improved means of communication have had another important effect in altering the nature of the famines, to which so large a part of India is exposed, and in lessening the disastrous results.

India's principal exports in 1933 were: jute, 24 per cent of the total value; cotton, 18; tea, 13; grain pulses and flour, 12; oil seeds, 8; leather, 4; metals and ores, 3; hides and skins, 2. The main imports were: cotton goods, 26 per cent; machinery and millwork, 8; metals and ores, 7; oils, 6; silk, 3; sugar, 3; instruments and apparatus, 3; vehicles, 3; hardware, 2; wool, 2. The 23,800 post offices sent (1933) 1,121 million articles throughout India, even to small villages, and 15.5 million telegrams.

In ancient times, Buddhists and Hindus from India colonized Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Sumatra, Java and Indo-China. Other Buddhists penetrated Tibet and Central Asia. Still other Indians went westward to Mesopotamia, Arabia and the east coast of Africa.

The modern villager does not change his permanent residence except for strong economic or social reasons, 90 per cent of the people being found in their native districts. But during slack agricultural months, many villagers from certain areas go to work in the factories or mines of neighbouring towns. India's industrial population is rooted in the villages, where they keep their homes and whither they return for field work. Others go for longer times, largely from Bihar, United Provinces and Madras to more or less distant parts of India, such as the Assam tea plantations, Bombay mills and Burma's oil wells and rice mills. In addition, over two million Indians dwell in other parts of the British Empire, especially in Ceylon's tea gardens and the Malay State rubber plantations, where four-fifths of the Indians are males. There are also over 100,000 emigrants from India in each of the following: Mauritius, Natal, Trinidad, British Guiana and Canada. Most of the migrants, those going to nearby as well as to distant places, come from the poorest and most down-trodden classes in the village, who seek larger earnings and freedom from social restrictions.

F. WHAT ARE THEIR INCOME AND EXPENDITURE?

Very large divergencies in income exist between the exploiting moneylenders, grain dealers and landlords, and those whom they exploit, though they may live in the same village. Conditions vary in neighbouring villages and far more in the different regions of India. In two Deccan villages, carefully studied by Dr. Harold Mann, 65 per cent and 85 per cent of the families were insolvent and unable to buy the requisite food and clothing, without falling deeper into debt.

The per capita income according to the average of three estimates for the end of the 19th century was Rs 25,¹ according to the average of six estimates for 1900 to 1922, Rs. 73.² This increase was largely due to the rise of prices. Both figures include the rents received by the wealthiest landlords. The Central Banking Enquiry has recently estimated the agriculturist's average income in British India at Rs 42. Colonel Russell, Health Commissioner for British India, quotes the estimate that the annual value of India's agricultural produce has dropped during the depression from 1,200 to 500 crores of rupees. In Madras, the gross value of crops fell between 1929 and 1934 from 165 to 80 crores. The cultivators' average agricultural income was Rs. 23·5 in 1934 and their other income, Rs. 3·25. Of the total, cultivation expenses absorbed Rs. 9·4 and revenue assessment and rent to zamindars, Rs. 2·35, leaving only Rs. 15 for food and other purposes.³ All the figures for income include the rents received by the wealthiest landlords. A few people above the average are living in comfort, but the majority of villagers exist on an amount below the average.

Recent figures for the average income and wealth may be contrasted for various countries.⁴

	INCOME (RUPEES)	WEALTH (RUPEES)
United States ...	2,053	9,365
Canada .	1,268	8,023
United Kingdom .	1,092	6,371

¹ Naoroji for 1867-70; Lord Curzon, 1880-1900, and Digby, 1898-99.

² Shah and Khambata, 1900-14, 1914-22, 1921-22, Wadia and Joshi, 1913-14, Shirras, 1920-21, 1921-22

³ Sathyanathan, 1935, p. 12.

⁴ Visvesvaraya, *Planned Economy for India*, p. 401.

	INCOME (RUPEES)	WEALTH (RUPEES)
France	636	4,581
Japan ..	271	2,308
British India ...	82	441

The average 1930 incomes of some other countries were:

United States ...	..	... • Rs 2,256
Great Britain ..	.	... „ 1,281
France ..	...	... „ 561
Japan ...	...	... „ 207

The wages of agricultural labourers vary widely in different places, depending on custom, the labour supply and demand, and their freedom to move elsewhere. Their average daily wages in Bombay in 1922 were 7 annas. Their wages in 1932 were only 77 per cent of this or between 5 and 6 annas. In many areas the figure is considerably lower. The dietary of the Madras Jail Department, which is the cheapest they can devise to keep a man in health and strength, calls for rations costing 3·4 annas a day. Many millions have less than this for a whole family. The small daily wage has to keep alive a man and his dependents for the days he works and any days when he cannot find work. The 125 million earners of India support 225 million dependents, of whom 29 million also do some work. Many millions more want to work but can find none to do. Sir M. Visvesvaraya has roughly estimated the number of unemployed at 40 millions. The field worker's wages are so low, in spite of his long hours and patient endurance, largely on account of his low productivity, in turn the result of ignorance, weak health and harmful customs. A labourer in the Bombay Deccan is said to do a third as much work as one in the West Indies; and a woman picks 30 to 40 pounds of cotton a day, as contrasted with 60 pounds in Egypt and 120 in the Southern United States. Two important changes regarding wages have taken place. payment in kind for service is rapidly giving way to a monetary economy (a process involving many difficult adjustments) and wages in some areas have shown an upward tendency, but the cost of necessities has risen as rapidly, or even more rapidly.

That the ordinary villager is on a level of bare subsistence is shown by his spending most of his income on food alone. The 1921 *Bombay Census* estimates that the poorest classes

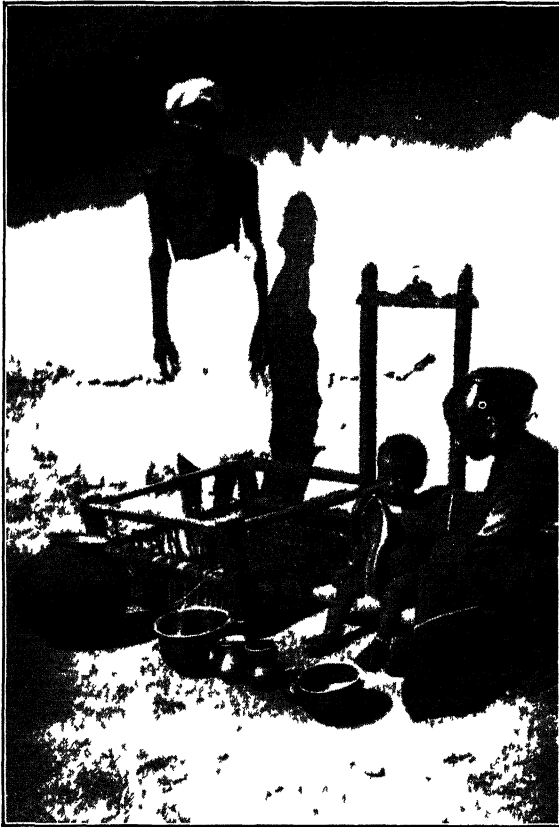
spend 68 per cent of their income on food, 15 per cent on clothing, 11 per cent on other compulsory expenditure, leaving only 6 per cent for amusements, education and miscellaneous. Professor Mukerjee of Lucknow university estimates that agriculturists spend 94 per cent of their income on food and 3 per cent on clothing. Much money is spent on the celebration of marriages, deaths, births or litigation, interest, and religious pilgrimages. In 1932 India consumed 428,340 pounds of opium. The villagers who furnish food and clothing to town-dwellers are often neglected or mistreated by them. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes: 'The city, which is the professional aspect of society, has gradually come to believe that the village is its legitimate field for exploitation, that the village must at the cost of its own life maintain the city in all its brilliance of luxuries and excesses.'¹

G. HOW HEAVILY DOES DEBT BURDEN THEM?

These increasing estimates have been made of the Madras rural debt: Sir Frederick Nicholson, 45 crores (1895); Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 150 crores (1930); W.R.S. Sathyanathan, 204 crores (1935). The reason for this alarming growth is that the common villager having no productive savings quickly runs to the moneylender when he needs cash, without considering the dire consequences. Darling says that in all Punjab districts two-thirds of the people are in debt, and in some districts over 90 per cent!² Zamindari members of the Punjab Legislative Council placed the annual interest there at 30 crores, or six and a half times the land revenue. A special officer has computed Madras' total agricultural debt of 204 crores, Rs. 38 per head, or Rs. 63 per acre of occupied land. Of the amount, 93 per cent was borrowed from moneylenders and only 6 per cent from co-operative societies. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee estimated India's rural indebtedness at 900 crores, much of which is unproductive debt increasing automatically without furnishing any means for repayment. A Punjab Muslim in 1882 mortgaged his land to a moneylender to borrow Rs. 500 at 25 per cent compound interest; by 1934

¹ Introduction to *Reconstruction and Education in Rural India*.

² *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 279



A PEASANT'S FURNITURE AND UTENSILS

Villagers have little to spend on equipment, most of their income going for food. Lord Linlithgow has described them as 'very gallant gentlemen'. Their re-education will bring the solution of India's problems.

this debt had grown to Rs. 196,900, for which sum the usurer obtained a decree in the courts. Dr. Pickett in his survey of 3,819 heads of Christian families in all parts of India found that 70 per cent of them were in debt with an average indebtedness of Rs. 185 and interest rate of 19 per cent. From 10 to 84 per cent of the cash income went to meet the interest charges.¹ In Madras the property of 541 families, studied by an officer investigating debt, has shrunk during the depression by 56 per cent and the percentage of their debts to their property rose from 9 to 20

Many reasons account for the prevailing ruinous indebtedness. Low production and the low wages have already been mentioned. The villagers have little or no savings to tide them over hard times. Even if they have some savings, they are unproductive. Social pressure forces them to spend extravagantly on weddings, dowries, funeral ceremonies, drink and litigation. They pay exorbitant interest on previous loans. Shirras found that the average marriage cost Bombay wage-earners Rs 214 and a funeral Rs. 35. At least 10 per cent of the family income was spent on liquor, though few women drank. Drinking is specially common among lower class men, and is disastrous both to them and their families. Sir P. C. Mitter estimates that the landlords and tenants of Bengal spend three crores on court fees every year and double that amount on other expenses connected with land litigation. Calvert says that 169,000 suits are annually filed in the Punjab, and estimates that two and a half million people attend court. The cultivator is short-sighted and poorly adjusted to new conditions, such as the growth of trade and the change from human relations between him and the moneylender to the unfamiliar legal position of creditor and debtor. Under such circumstances the moneylender reaps all the advantages.

The rural interest rates range between 9 and 37½ per cent, depending on the form of security. These rates are higher than in towns, because of the extra trouble and risk, and also because the peasant is unbusinesslike. Dr. Mann figured that the interest charges in a village he surveyed absorbed up to a quarter of the total profits from land. Debts of grain

¹ *Christian Mass Movements*, pp 98-101

lasting an agricultural season are common everywhere. After half a year the borrowed amount plus a quarter or a third has to be repaid, bringing the annual interest rate to 50 per cent or more.

Not only is land mortgaged as security but the services of men are pledged for the repayment of loans, especially among the Untouchables. If a man has exhausted all other forms of security, he works for his creditor and receives in return a little food, but no money with which to repay any of the principal. Or he may pledge the services of one or more children. In either case, the serf is at the mercy of a merciless moneylender. No record is kept of the value of the services, and if any protest is made, the master threatens to go to court, where the serf would have no evidence for his case. In this way a condition of abject serfdom is set up, which may endure for generations.

Lord Roberts in *Forty-One Years in India*¹ has written: 'Before the British dominion was established in India, the usurer no doubt existed, but his opportunities were fewer, his position more precarious, and his operations more under control than at present. The moneylender then knew that his life would not be safe if he exacted too high interest for the loans with which he accommodated his customers, and that if he became too rich, some charge or other would be trumped up against him which would force him to surrender a large share of his wealth to the officials of the State in which he was living.' Punjab moneylenders' taxed income rose between 1898 and 1918 from 1.5 to 3.5 crores and their money on loan from 12 to 28 crores.

Even more damning evidence may be brought against the moneylender, but he has a function that no one else now performs. He is 'an abomination unto the Lord but a very present help in time of trouble,' to use a boy's definition of a lie. To whom else can the cultivator go to get money for land revenue, cattle and implements or to get seed and food? There are 2.5 banking offices for every million people (Canada has 417) and they are all in the cities and towns. The courts have discretion to say what rates are usurious, but the poor man has no money to fight his legal case.

¹ p. 248.

Agricultural loans from the Government have been useful, but the loan has to be approved by so many officials that the process is cumbersome and dependent on good favour. The co-operative societies discussed in Chapter VI, can successfully meet the ryot's credit needs. Land mortgage banks to make long-term loans for permanent improvements have been started by some provinces; more are needed.

A few people in India are fabulously wealth, including those who have inherited a kingdom or a tract of fertile land, or have made fortunes by lending, trading, or manufacturing. Most of these men live in cities or towns, but the village moneylenders and grain merchants also grow very rich. They buy grain cheap, most people having no place to store it, and sell it dear at sowing time or just before the harvest. The rich are mainly responsible for the huge quantities of gold imported into India from 1899 to 1931, India's stock of gold having increased by 667 crores of rupees. Nearly one-third of this amount has now been exported since 1931. The three commonest forms of investment are land, jewellery and coins of gold and silver. This unproductive capital, if wisely invested, could be of tremendous use in upbuilding India. A great era of development awaits the country the moment that sound and productive investment becomes general. In 1933, 2,737 thousand postal savings bank accounts had a total balance of 435 million rupees. The amount in savings accounts per head of population is only Rs. 2; while in the United States it is Rs. 544; in England, 267; and Japan, 89.

'India is not a country doomed to poverty by lack of natural resources. It is rather a country doomed to poverty because it has not taken the trouble to acquire the mental and moral equipment necessary to escape from poverty. Both public and private effort are necessary in order that India may acquire this equipment'¹ Without Burma, British India's forests cover 66 million acres or twice the area of England. As to minerals, India's coal is the cheapest in the world, the thick seams being near the surface and labour being cheap. From 1913 to 1929 the coal mined rose from 16.5 to 22.5 million tons. The country has superior iron ores not far

¹ Dr. Gilbert Slater, *Young Men of India*, December, 1919.

from coal and limestone deposits. For centuries iron smelting was widespread, and India was famed for the quality of her iron. The Tatas, with Indian capital and the help of America and German engineers, have developed the manufacture of steel, the land's most important metallurgical industry. This firm in 1931 produced 700 thousand tons of pig iron (over three times as much as in 1913) and 430 thousand tons of steel. India is one of the two leading manganese producing countries of the world. The Kolar Gold Fields yield annually 25 million rupees worth of gold. India has 27 million potential horsepower, of which only 3 per cent has been developed. The amount is ten times that of Switzerland, which has, however, developed 72 per cent of this resource, while Italy has developed 47 per cent.

India's precious stones, metal objects and muslins were known to the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The Indus Valley discoveries show that real cotton was first grown for fibre in India. Later the country's spices, drugs, fabrics and dyes gave the impetus to the marvellous age of discovery and to the finding of America. India is now on the eve of an industrial awakening. The cotton factories produced 3,170 million yards of woven goods in 1933 and the jute factories 1,021 million yards of gunny cloth in 1932.

Two great potential reserves, at present scarcely touched, will be released when India's soil fertility is carefully husbanded instead of idly wasted, and when productive investment replaces useless hoarding. The highest development of India's man power and woman power and child power, and the fullest utilization of her great stores of natural wealth need to go hand in hand. Only so can the whole of India become economically and humanly strong.

H. HOW FAR IS CHILD LABOUR UNAVOIDABLE?

The percentage of the population at work has fallen from 46 in 1921 to 44 ten years later, which is partly due to the difficulty in finding employment. Child labour competes with the employment of adults. Graduates of the Madras University are glad to get work in the police force on Rs 10 a month. There is never likely to be enough work for adults as long as there is an unlimited number of children working at the lowest wages.

THE PEASANTS' ECONOMIC BURDENS INCREASE 33

This table shows the percentages of earners and dependents in 1931 among the 180,621 thousand males and 169,909 thousand females of all ages.

		MALE	FEMALE
Earners ...	...	54	16
Working Dependents ..	...	4	12
Total Workers ...	...	58	28
Non-working Dependents	...	42	72

Four-sevenths of the male population and two-sevenths of the female are engaged in some kind of work. The working dependents include many million boys and girls between eight and fifteen.

The village of Gangadharanellore, about ninety miles west of Madras, illustrates the very high proportion of persons working for their living in the rural areas. Out of the 64 families that I surveyed, 62 per cent of the children between 7 and 16 were wage-earners, 90 per cent of the people between 16 and 50, and 54 per cent of those over 50. Most of the dependents were physically incapable of hard labour. This is typical of the villages where production is so low and interest rates so high that the families can only keep going by having all the able-bodied adults and children work for money. Very commonly their solvency depends on their having working children. Lyons, who made a careful study in 1920 of the subsistence standard of the working people of Indore, based on the jail standards of food, concluded that the subsistence standard could be fully attained only if everyone worked daily and there were no dependent children or women.¹

In most villages, especially the poorer ones, large numbers of young children regularly add to the family income. This labour prevents children from getting the education and play necessary for the development of their God-given abilities. We must do all in our power to hasten the day when child labour can be greatly lessened so that all children can receive full-time schooling, at least through the primary stage. In the mean time, family exigencies will compel millions of boys and girls to toil long hours. Much can now be done to

¹ *Indian Journal of Economics*, III, Part 4, p. 459.

make their working conditions helpful rather than injurious, educative rather than deadening.

I. HOW DO THESE FACTS BEAR ON EDUCATION?

Colonel Russell, Public Health Commissioner for India, says that the solution of the population problem depends on man's increasing mastery over his environment; the widest measure of education is a consequent necessity in order that he may be suitably equipped to face his social and economic difficulties. Climate and physical environment so dominate the villager's chance of life and success, that the understanding, appreciation and use of them should find an important place in the school curriculum. The whole course should be related to the environment and help the teachers and pupils to be conscious of it, to find how to improve it and to bring them in touch with the broader environment which will lessen their isolation.

The land revenue coming from peasants, both poor and rich, forms the largest single item in the provincial income, and is several times what is spent on education and health. More money should therefore be given by the provinces to improve rural health and education. This would not only repay a debt to the village, but it would strengthen the whole country.

The fact that 67 per cent of India's population are supported by cultivation makes it vital to provide rural education suited to the children of farmers. Its background should be the country life with which they are familiar, rather than urban conditions, to which it is usually now related. It should be as good in quality and broad in scope as urban education, but starting from a different point. The aim is not to make all children farmers or to force them to stay in the village, but to enable those who are going to stay to appreciate country life and to follow better methods of agriculture and pasturage.

Because village handicrafts are so vital to abundant rural life, and because they are educative for the children, the pupils should be acquainted with simple industries by participating in them. The purpose is not to train young boys and girls in vocational efficiency, but to develop appreciation and understanding, and to make the ideas taught in other

subjects clearer and more vivid. It may enable the children to participate better in cottage industries, but its nature is cultural, not vocational. For this reason, industrial arts is a more accurate name than vocational training.

Because rural people have been isolated from the main currents of Indian life, the children need through the school to be brought in vital contact with the forces at work in the nation. They also require sagacity in practical situations, so that they can protect themselves from exploitation by designing men, whether inside or outside the village. They can also be led to desire and work for better roads and community improvements.

Much of the money for the betterment and extension of village education will have to come from the more wealthy and from provincial funds to which the cultivator has contributed, for the ordinary villager cannot afford much cash for education since he has little or nothing beyond the barest necessities of existence. This is because his production is very low, much of what he earns is taken from him by landlords, moneylenders and grain dealers, and he spends some of his income on what brings no adequate return, or even no return at all. The main reasons for the lowness of production are as follows: 92 per cent of the population are illiterate, and 67 per cent are engaged in the hazardous occupation of agriculture. The climate is at times very hot, and the rainfall is uncertain, poorly distributed through the year, and discouraging to hard labour, because of the fear that the fruits of industry may be wiped out by a bad season. The land holdings are both economically small and fragmented into isolated plots to a ruinous degree. The livestock often cause loss to their owners, and the agricultural implements and practices are extremely inefficient. Cottage industries are poorly organized and losing ground in many cases. Much profitable labour is prevented by caste rules. What savings are made, are mostly unproductive. Skilled medical assistance is almost lacking.

With these factors causing low productivity and paucity of cash, the poorest villagers can give little support to schools, but they can give contributions in kind and help with labour and materials in erecting and repairing buildings. Many other rural people would give more than at present if they

were convinced that the school was meeting their real needs. To secure such conviction, two steps are required, adaptation of the school to rural life and publicity to let the people see and understand what is being attempted.

Millions of young village boys and nearly as many young girls, are forced by economic circumstances to stay out or drop out of school in order to contribute to the family income by the sweat of their brow. Even if they have to continue to labour, the working conditions should be as well adapted to their needs as possible.

In this chapter we have faced a number of questions: Shall land ownership and tenancy be so regulated that it helps the villager forward? Shall those engaged in agriculture and pasturage be freed from some of their burdens or remain on the dead level of extreme poverty? Shall cottage industries be developed to occupy the idle time and help the finances of the villagers? Shall rural dwellers have helpful contacts with the world outside or always be at a disadvantage? Shall they earn adequately, spend wisely and save productively or not? Shall the heavy burden of toil be lifted from the backs of helpless children? All of these may be summed up in the issue as to whether the villages shall have continued backwardness or continuous advance. The right solution depends in great measure on the effectiveness of the change made by education in the outlook of the people and their willingness and ability to labour for real progress.

CHAPTER II

MILLIONS DIE YOUNG

A. What are the Present Conditions?—B. Why are Diseases So Widespread and Deadly?—C. What Meaning Has This for Education?

A. WHAT ARE THE PRESENT CONDITIONS?

INDIAN villagers are born and die like flies. Every year 11 million of them come into a world of struggle and 7.5 million pass away, leaving 3.5 million new mouths to feed. Every minute 21 babies are born in the villages and over 14 persons die.

India's birth rate per thousand has slowly declined during the twentieth century:

1901-10	.	...	..	..	38
1911-20	...	..	..	...	37
1921-30	...	..	...	...	35
1931-33	...	...	...	...	34

The rate for 1933 was 35.5. This rate is lower than in Egypt (42), and Ceylon (39), but higher than that of Japan (32), Italy (27), Canada (24), United States (19), France (17) and England (14). The main reasons for India's high birth rate are the almost universality of marriage, the fact that children are usually born at the earliest age physiologically possible, and social traditions placing a high premium on the birth of sons to perform the most important religious ceremonies.

The death rate per thousand has been lowered since 1920, largely by the activities of the public health departments:

1901-10	.	..	...	..	34
1911-20	..	.	...	.	34
1921-30	.	...	..	..	26
1931-33	...	..	..	..	23

The rate for 1933 was 22. Between 1921 and 1926 the rural districts had nearly 5 deaths less per thousand than the towns, the villages being usually more healthy, especially in times of cholera and plague. The death rate among Muslims and Christians is generally lower than among Hindus.

Because of the sharp decrease of deaths since 1920, without a corresponding drop in births, the population has increased at an alarming rate.

		BIRTH RATE MINUS DEATH RATE	INCREASE DURING TEN YEARS
1901-10	...	4	19
1911-20	..	3	4
1921-30	..	9	34
1931-33	...	11	

Since 1931, the increase has been higher than ever before, nearly four millions a year or about four times that of Japan. Most of India's cultivable land has been brought under the plough. Countries and provinces with high birth rates nearly always have high death rates as well, for example, Central Provinces stands highest and Assam, North-west Frontier and Bengal lowest both in birth and death rates. Colonel Russell, Public Health Commissioner for India, writes, 'The true picture of India's population is that of a community living at an extremely low standard and growing at a pace which is outstripping or threatening to outstrip its food supply. The remedy appears to us to lie in a wise combination of measures directed towards improvement in the standard of living and towards the regulation of numbers such as can be supported in comfort by the resources of the country.' He estimates the population for 1935 at 370, and for 1941 at over 400, million.

India's death rate is higher than that of other countries: Japan (18), France (16), United States (11), England and New Zealand (9). Between 1890 and 1928 the American death rate fell from 20 to 12, and the English rate similarly declined. The expectation of life of India in 1931 and England in 1921 among females was:

AGE		INDIA		ENGLAND		DIFFERENCE
0	..	26.6	.	59.6	..	33.0
10	..	33.6	..	57.5	..	23.9
20	.	27.1	.	48.7	...	21.6
30	...	22.3	..	40.3	...	18.0

AGE		INDIA		ENGLAND		DIFFERENCE
40	..	18.2	...	31.9	..	13.7
50	.	14.6	...	23.7	...	9.1
60	...	10.8	...	16.2	...	5.4
70	..	6.7	...	9.9	...	3.2

The figures for males are very similar in India but are somewhat smaller in England. The expectation of life at birth for the United States is 56.4, France 50.5 and Japan 44.5. India's figure fell in the ten years before 1901 and again before 1911.

The death rate of infants under a year is distressingly high, although it has declined slightly. The 1933 rate was 171 per thousand live births. The main Indian cities range from Bombay with 218 up to Lucknow with 469. The main reasons are unskilled midwives, premature birth, malnutrition and various diseases. Recent rates for other countries are: Japan, 166; United States, 73; England and Wales, 64; and New Zealand, 40. Between 1924 and 1935, the Hawaiian rate was reduced from 116 to 77.

The All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers in 1926 pronounced about two-thirds of India's deaths to be from preventable disease. The villager suffers from the terrible tropical scourges of malaria, cholera, leprosy, bubonic plague, dysentery, smallpox, kala-azar and hookworm. In addition he falls easy prey to the worst diseases of temperate climates: tuberculosis, influenza, syphilis, cancer, pneumonia, tetanus and heart diseases. The following diseases caused most deaths in 1931:

			DEATHS PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION IN BRITISH INDIA		MILLIONS OF DEATHS IN ALL INDIA AT THESE RATES
Fevers ..	...	...	14.9	..	5.37
Respiratory ..	..	..	1.6	...	.57
Dysentery and diarrhoea .	.	.	1.0	..	.36
Cholera ...	..	..	.8	.	.29
Plague ..	.	.	.2	...	.07
Smallpox ..	...	...	1	..	.04
All other causes ...	...	...	6.3	.	2.27
			<hr/> 24.9	..	<hr/> 8.96

Fever is reported more frequently from the villages than from the towns, which is partly due to faulty diagnosis, for fever may often be a symptom rather than a cause, the vital statistics being collected by men ignorant of diagnosis. It

is estimated that a third of the deaths reported from fever are due to malaria. For every one of the two million people who die of malaria every year, many persons are severely debilitated by the fever for long periods. The Bombay Medical League estimates that 100,000,000 Indians suffer from malaria. In recent years the great prevalence of kala-azar has been ascertained and a treatment discovered. Cholera brings terror by the suddenness with which it strikes, people often falling ill in the evening and being dead next morning. India has nine-tenths of the world's deaths from bubonic plague. Influenza in 1918 and 1919 lowered the vitality of 125 millions in India and killed 12 millions. Sir Leonard Rogers says that tuberculosis causes more deaths in Calcutta than any tropical disease, and that it is mounting by about 7 per cent a year. Leprosy is also spreading very rapidly in the villages, between a half and one million being afflicted with the loathsome disease, according to Dr. E. Muir. The prevalence of hookworm varies from 10 to 90 per cent in various places, increasing with the moisture of the climate and the nature of the soil.¹ It is caused by people walking barefooted in soil used as a latrine by persons suffering from this enervating disease.

The 1931 *Census* gives these figures for persons suffering from infirmities: insanity, 120,000; deafness, 231,000; blindness, 601,000. The last figure has been shown by special counts to be a serious under-statement. Most of the blindness is from preventable causes.

India's population has shown a considerable increase from decade to decade except when it has been cut down by some scourge, as the famines before 1901 and the influenza before 1921.

DECADE ENDING	PER CENT INCREASE	POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE
1891	.. 9.6	162
1901	... 1.4	164
1911	.. 6.4	175
1921	... 1.2	177
1931	.. 10.2	195

Between 1921 and 1931 the population of the British Provinces increased by 9.6 per cent., the highest being Delhi

¹ Dr. Chandler, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.

(30·4) with Assam (15·5) next, and the lowest being the United Provinces (6·7). Among the Indian States the average increase was 12·3, the highest being Travancore with 27 and the lowest, the North-west Frontier Province Agencies with a decrease of 20 per cent

B. WHY ARE DISEASES SO WIDESPREAD AND DEADLY?

Poverty and ignorance are the two basic causes rendering disease so prevalent and destructive. The villager's wretched economic condition lowers his vitality and resistance to disease. The grinding, cramping poverty makes for bad housing, an insufficient amount of food and unclean water supply. The condition of living from hand to mouth, also means that many children have to labour whenever they can find work. Although not all child labour is necessarily harmful, a round of heavy routine duties without play certainly undermines the physique. Still another way in which economic pressure harms health is the resultant lethargy and fatalistic hopelessness. Disease also produces poverty, thus creating a vicious circle. 'The loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventable malnutrition and disease is not less than 20 per cent. . . . The Conference is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which results from preventable disease costs India several hundred crores of rupees a year.'¹

The second basic reason for the prevalence of disease is the utter illiteracy that keeps the villagers from learning helpful new ideas for lessening disease and increasing good sanitation and balanced food. Health pamphlets by the governments cannot be read by the common man. Lack of knowledge also makes the people a prey to the crudest and most superstitious treatments of disease.

Other causes work more directly. One of the most serious of these is the wretched housing situation. In Bombay City during 1932, 53 per cent of babies born in single-roomed houses died under a year, the figures being 41 for two-roomed houses, 37 for those with three rooms, 23 for four or more rooms; in hospitals only 7 per cent died. Similar crowding

¹ All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers, 1925.

is also prevalent in the villages. Shirras says: 'If we except certain tracts in the east and south (of Bombay Presidency) . . . the congestion in the areas actually inhabited is probably as great in the villages as in all but the most congested towns'¹ The kind of house that the rural people use varies with the materials available and the amount of protection needed against the climate. The village house is over-crowded and under-ventilated. A man and his wife, their son and his wife, their children, cattle, buffalo, goats and chickens are often all crowded at night into a single hut, sometimes in a single room. The village labouring classes live in one-roomed huts, generally one hut to a family. Well-built stone or brick houses are comparatively rare in the villages, being owned by the well-to-do, who like to build their houses round a courtyard. Most of the village sites are filthy and allow the breeding of malaria mosquitoes.

The amount and kind of food needed for health, strength and energy is never secured by the poor villagers on account of their cramped resources; and the same is true of the majority of villagers before the harvests. D. S. Dubey concluded from a careful study of British India from 1911-18 that 'two-thirds of the population always get only three-quarters of the food grains they should have'² Dr. Pickett found that when work was very scarce, 20 to 25 per cent went hungry. The food of the typical villager is wanting in variety and in vitamins, for he can afford little beyond grain and salt. When he can, he buys a few curry stuffs and greens. Most take meat when they can get it; often all that is available to the Depressed Classes is carrion. Sir John Megaw, formerly Public Health Commissioner for India, regarded 39 per cent of India's people as being well nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished, and 20 per cent very badly nourished. He stated, 'There is some difference of opinion as to whether the conditions of life have improved or deteriorated during the past fifty years, but even if some slight improvement may have taken place, the existing state of affairs is still so profoundly unsatisfactory that it demands investigation and redress. Even more disquieting is the

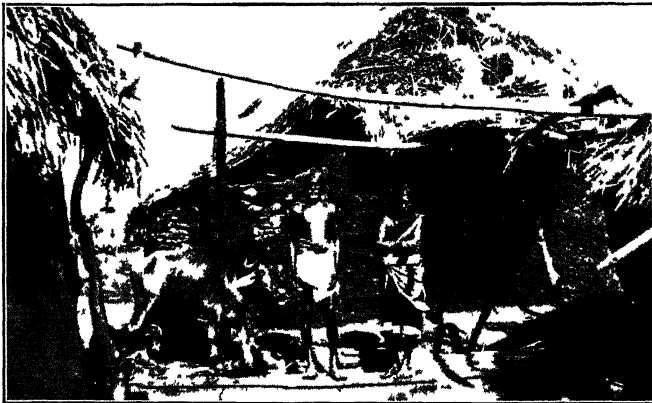
¹ *Working Class Budgets*, p. 26.

² *Indian Journal of Economics*, III, p. 180



FOUL, STAGNANT DRINKING WATER

After villagers have bathed and washed their dirty clothes in ponds like this, they drink the water and seek to stem the epidemics by worshipping angry goddesses. Thousands of new wells and better hygienic habits are essential to India's health.



HUMAN BEINGS AND ANIMALS LIVE TOGETHER

Such broken, insanitary, windowless hovels offer little protection from rain and sun. They menace the health of the Depressed Classes and of the whole village. Can we rest in luxury while our brothers and sisters exist like this?

forecast for the future; there is every reason to believe that the maximum increase which can be hoped for in the production of the necessities of life will not keep pace with the growth of population, so that there is a prospect of a steady deterioration in the state of nutrition of the people.'

The fact that rural drinking water is frequently polluted is another cause for high mortality. It may come from streams and irrigation channels, into which pour various impurities and in which the village washerman pounds the dirt out of soiled clothes, or else from a well unprotected against pollution. 'Everywhere, save in a few of the largest towns, all sewage and liquid and solid waste are committed to the soil for disposal, either by deposit on the surface or by burial, and this generally in close proximity to the inhabited site. The effect of heavy and continuous rain, which is far less penetrating in proportion to its quantity than outside the tropics, is to wash the accumulated soil impurities into the water sources and to leave stagnant collections of water where drainage is defective.'¹ Or the drinking water may come from a stagnant pond where the people bathe and wash, and where the buffaloes wallow. Whenever a waterborne epidemic, such as cholera, attacks one villager, it soon strikes down many.

The extent of addiction to intoxicating drinks may be gauged by the excise revenue in Madras alone being four and a half crores in 1934. The drink bill, which is almost double this, is largely paid by poverty-stricken cultivators who can least afford it. Liquor kills many babies though the facts are little known. In Kodaikanal, 16 of the 35 non-epidemic deaths of infants in 1920 were directly traced to the effects of liquor, being due either to under-development of the babies through the intemperance of parents or grand-parents, or else to poisoning by liquor given to the nursing mother. Prohibition has been demanded by the nationalists. Although the production and consumption of opium have been greatly curtailed, it remains a terrible blight both to adults and babies.

Early marriage has caused countless deaths among infants and young mothers. Immature girls, unable to stand the strain involved, have been forced to give birth to weak, under-vitalized babies. The practice followed by Muslims

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, I, p. 503.

and wealthy Hindus of shutting up women in their homes from marriage until death, also works great injury. Again, the customs connected with birth bring death in their train, mothers being kept for days with little water, amid the dirtiest conditions, since they are considered ceremonially defiled. The heavy infant mortality is ascribed by the Madras Sanitary Commissioner to the following factors: Women in labour are attended by ignorant midwives, even where trained midwives are available. Dirty knives and scissors cause tetanus. New-born infants are drugged with crude mercurial preparations. In rural Madras, only 3 per cent of mothers receive skilled aid during childbirth.

The earnest official efforts to stop these causes of ill-health and cure disease have not yet produced a profound effect on the villages, except in combating some epidemics. Non-official work has not extended very broadly in rural areas. According to the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India, only an insignificant proportion of the people who die are tended during their final illness by persons adequately qualified in medicine. The main reasons follow: The number of Indian villages is nearly 700,000, the majority of which are difficult of access. Most people are superstitious and afraid of trying new kinds of treatment. Although ancient Indian medicine made (through the Arabs) an important contribution to medieval medical knowledge, the ordinary practitioner of Indian medicine in the villages relies largely on incantations and is usually untrained except by having memorized rules for using many herbs and drugs. Of India's 20,000 odd trained physicians and surgeons, most are in the larger towns; for example, Madras City with 1 per cent of the people has 25 per cent of the doctors in the Presidency. There is only one hospital bed for 4,400 people. Though 41 million patients were treated in 1925, nearly all the hospitals and a large proportion of the dispensaries are in towns. Calcutta claims 2,544 of the 5,606 hospital beds in all Bengal. Villagers often cannot, and as often will not, take their relatives to hospitals unless they are in the last stages of exhaustion and after the failure of all other means, including the untrained physicians and herb doctors of the area. In contrast, Britain has 16,450,000 persons who are insured against illness and treated by 16,500 doctors under the national health scheme.

There is some recreation in the villages during the months requiring little field work. People will come in from surrounding villages to enjoy dramas given by travelling actors of the great and lengthy Indian epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* or of popular stories, like *Harischandra* or *Markanda*. They are interspersed with the comic songs and dances of the inevitable buffoon. A single play may be continued serially for a week or more. Frequently a performance lasts until dawn. In some places there are less formal amusements, such as singing and dancing by the young men. Wrestling matches and other contests between the representatives of rival villages are still held. There are also numerous group games in different parts of India, which people only occasionally play.

C. WHAT MEANING HAS THIS FOR EDUCATION?

The devastating loss of life to which village children are subjected can be prevented by concerted sanitary measures combined with careful health education. In these efforts people of all groups, official and non-official, should co-operate, for the immense obstacles can only be overcome by concentrating all possible forces against them. This will involve prolonged publicity, including stereopticon lectures, cinemas, and demonstrations. Much of this can be done at religious festivals and weekly markets.

In nearly all cases, the training of rural children in better health habits can be done by no other agency than the school. If it does not inculcate sound hygienic habits and secure more sanitary conditions, all its other teaching goes for naught. Adults also sorely need health education, which can be imparted either indirectly through the school children or directly. In health work, the teacher can co-operate with, and receive help from, health and medical officers.

Village children have an excess of monotonous, unskilled labour and a serious lack of wholesome play calling forth their best powers of body, mind and heart. Recreation as a character-building force is almost unknown in the village. The ordinary school allows no place for artistic and musical expression and development.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL INERTIA ENTRENCHED, BUT CHALLENGED

A. How does Popular Religion Shape Rural Life?—B. What are the Family Customs?—C. How does Caste Divide People?—D. How have Village Organization and Life Changed?—E. What are the Political Factors?—F. What are the Bearings on Education?

A. HOW DOES POPULAR RELIGION SHAPE RURAL LIFE?

WITH good reason India has been called a God-intoxicated land. The Indian villager is surrounded on all sides by a complex web of *dharma*, or religious and social obligation, which furnishes his standards and controls his actions. Responsibilities are stressed rather than rights. Like the farmer of every land, he adheres firmly to the ways of his forefathers. Blind custom, strengthened as it is by the sanctions of Hinduism and the authority of the village elders, often prevails over reason. 'The Indian mind,' admits the late nationalist reformer, Lajpat Rai, 'has for some centuries been more or less in a state of captivity. The strictly regulated life of the *shastras* and the *shara*, the rule of the priest, the lack of opportunities for education, the constantly disturbed conditions of the country, the philosophical pessimism of the creeds and the cults, the belittling of life by centuries of monasticism and asceticism, all had for some time combined to make life in India static rather than dynamic.'¹ Though the hold of tradition is weakening in some places, most village matters are still decided, not so much on their

¹ *National Education in India*, p. 62

merits or by majority vote, as on the basis of custom or the pronouncement of some authority. The villager's religious beliefs and practices largely mould his social and educational life. In his mind every act and custom is intimately connected with religion. He knows no distinction between sacred and secular. The atmosphere about him is surcharged with religion, the unseen world being a matter of deeper concern than the world of the senses. 'The European,' says Meredith Townsend, 'judges a creed by its results, declaring that if these are foolish or evil or inconvenient the creed is false. The Asiatic does not consider results at all, but only the accuracy or beauty of the thoughts generated in his own mind'¹

Pertinent facts about the main religions are shown in this table (1931):

RELIGION	THOUSANDS	PER CENT INCREASE 1881-1931	PER CENT OF LITERACY	PER CENT LIVING IN TOWNS
Hindu ..	239,195	26.8	8.4	10.5
Moslem	77,678	55.0	6.4	13.5
Tribal .	8,280	28.8	0.7	0.7
Christian ..	6,297	238.1	27.9	20.2
Sikhs ..	4,336	133.9	9.1	7.0
Jains .	1,252	2.5	35.3	34.6
Zoroastrian	110	28.5	79.1	89.1

The history of these religions may be very briefly summarized. Animism, or the worship of the spirits in animals and objects, has existed in India for untold ages; in its most characteristic form it is now mainly followed by the Aboriginal Tribes and the Depressed Classes. Hinduism has evolved in India since the Aryan invasion over a thousand years before the Christian era; prominent features of the religion are given later.

Christianity was introduced within one or two centuries of Christ's time into south-west India where the Malabar Church has existed ever since, until a century ago like a separate caste with little or no attempt at increase in numbers. The tireless Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the fourteenth century and their work was soon re-inforced by the Portuguese Government; their communion is divided on caste lines. Protestants came in the eighteenth century.

¹ *Asia and Europe*, p. 29.

Although they originally recognized caste, they rarely do so now. The largest accessions have come from the Depressed Classes who have taken this opportunity of freeing themselves from social degradation. The Hindu Census Superintendent of Mysore reported in 1911,¹ 'The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts, and their sober, disciplined and busy lives.' The 1921 Census² states, 'The strength of the Christian Church, with its wide educational organization, has done much to raise the standard of literacy in South India, especially in the States of Cochin and Travancore.'

Islam was introduced by settlers in the seventh century and by military conquerors from the eighth century. Its adherents increased gradually in martial power until, under the Moguls, they gained the supremacy over most of India. The majority are Sunnis, and the rest Shiahhs. They are descended largely from local converts but also from soldiers who invaded India. They are united as a great brotherhood in opposition to Hinduism, meeting idolatry with iconoclasm, divine immanence with God's transcendence, and tolerant catholicity with intolerance and a definite creed. However, they adopted early marriage from the Hindus, giving the *zenana* (women's apartments) in exchange, and a few of them observe some Hindu festivals.

Sikhism arose in India during the fifteenth century, as a revolt against Hindu idolatry and caste. Under one of its later *gurus* (teachers), its energies were turned into military channels.

In spite of the presence of these other religions, India's life is dominated by Hinduism, to which about seven out of every ten people render some degree of allegiance. It is an ancient and composite religion containing philosophic and religious elements of high value, but also in its popular phases much that is mediocre, degraded and sensual.³ The prevailing beliefs and practices of the mass of village Hindus are considered in the following pages rather than the ideals of the religion at its best. Its great philosophies, its social

¹ *Mysore*, p. 138.

² p. 178.

³ See *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, on 'Hinduism.'

rules, its ceremonies, stories and songs have tenaciously endured from the dim past, although Hindu dynasties and empires crumbled before the Muslim power and although India was for centuries ravaged by warring armies. During these centuries under Brahman dominance, the religion has gradually evolved, showing immense powers of absorbing and adapting new ideas and practices, including much from the Dravidian inhabitants. Its organizing centre is not loyalty to a single individual, as in most other great religions, but to its view of life, its gods, and especially its social system, for every Hindu is born in some caste, and no outside person can become an orthodox Hindu. In addition to being born a Hindu, an orthodox adherent must conform to rules and usages of his family and caste.

No restrictions are placed on belief. 'The Indian, though much less tolerant than the European in the matter of his neighbour's acts, is far more so where his beliefs are concerned. Fearing many gods himself, he is quite ready to admit that there may be others of whom he has no ken.'¹ However, certain views have dominated the thought of practically all Hindus. In the words of Dr. Farquhar: 'Here, then, we have the Hindu world worthless; the one God unknowable, the other gods not to be despised; the Brahmans with their Vedas, the sole religious authority; caste a divine institution, serving as the chief instrument of reward and punishment; man doomed to repeated birth and death, because all action leads to rebirth; world flight the only noble course for the awakened man, and the one hope of escape from the entanglements of sense and transmigration.'² The completeness with which these ideas are grasped varies enormously, not only with the amount of education that men have had, but also with the extent to which they have been exposed to Christian and Western influences during the past hundred years. Pantheism has dominated Indian philosophy; theistic ideas created and still mould the thought of many Hindu sects;³ while the lives of most ignorant villagers have been controlled by a superstitious polytheism permeated by fear.

¹ Gait, *Census*, 1911.

² *Crown of Hinduisms*, p 216.

³ See N Macnicol, *Indian Theism*; J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduisms*, chap vii and his *Modern Religious Movements*

The Hindu doctrines of transmigration and *karma*, together with primeval tendencies toward fatalism, seem to have often cast a dark shadow over village life and to have enfeebled the power of resolute action. By the doctrine of transmigration, souls are believed to be emanations from the divine spirit which are incarnated innumerable times into the body of a man, a woman, an animal, or even a plant. The cycle continues ceaselessly, and the soul has no rest from suffering until it finds some means of release from rebirth, when it returns to its original divine source. The doctrine of *karma* means, in brief, that all actions of men and gods inevitably work out in a new life. All that a man has and does and is, springs from the inexorable retribution for his good and bad deeds done in previous existences. The expiation works itself out not only in passive experiences, but also in actions, which in turn require further expiation. Good acts, no less than bad, tie one down to the endless chain of rebirths.

Each soul works out its own destiny unaided by the good deeds of any other soul. The individual is thought to be in the grip of inescapable, impersonal forces which control not only his fortunes, but in large measure his acts also, and which necessitate continued rebirths. The orthodox commonly conceive the world as steadily degenerating from the age of complete virtue to the age which is three-quarters good, then to the half-and-half time, and finally into the present age, when only a quarter of the good survives. 'To the Hindu mind the universe is only a passing stage in an endless round of birth, growth, decay and death. Human effort and prayer are powerless to avert the ruin of all that human energy has built up. . . . The best inventions of man are only part of the Creator's inflexible plan for his ultimate destruction. Combine this psychology with the Moslem's acceptance of almost anything as the divine will; add a climate which saps energy and discourages initiative; and you have all the ingredients of what is known as Oriental fatalism.'¹ The belief in *karma* and transmigration, by providing an explanation of social inequalities and by emphasizing individual merit, tends to stifle strong movements for their removal.

¹ Baron Meston, *India at the Crossways*, p. 34.

Hinduism also influences the villagers toward an exaltation of asceticism and a profound conviction of the vain and transitory nature of the world that they see and feel. 'The general prevailing idea of life in India is that it is a necessary evil. That life is a misery and a misfortune from which it is desirable to escape, is so deeply written in the souls of our people that it is not easy to efface it.'¹ This is evidenced by the reverence paid to the millions of religious mendicants and ascetics, whose renunciation is regarded as the highest form of religion and whose curse is much feared.

Pantheism, when unchecked by standards of *dharma* or duty, has tended to break down the moral distinctions between right and wrong. If any one on earth advances so far as to be absorbed into the Absolute, 'he shakes off his good deeds, he shakes off his evil deeds.'² The same Upanishad represents the highest divinity as saying, 'He who understands me, by no deed of his whatsoever is his world injured, not by stealing, not by killing, not by murder of his mother, not by murder of his father.'³ Primitive demonolatry and animism, however, with their appeal to fear, wield far more influence over the ordinary villagers than does abstract pantheism. An overwhelming terror of the village goddesses and angry ghosts and evil spirits retains a tenacious hold, not merely over the Aboriginal Tribes and the Untouchables, but over many millions who are regular Hindus, including Brahmans. A South Indian Brahman writes: 'Almost all Brahmans believe in the existence of various spirits, and propitiate them when they begin constructing a new house or intend occupying a newly-built one. From his contact with the Dravidians, the Brahman has come to worship at the shrines of the small-pox gods, the cholera spirit and the plague deity.'⁴ In time of famine and disease, offerings of

¹ Lajpat Rai, *The Problem of National Education in India*, p. 39.

² *Kaushtaki Upanishad*, pp 1, 4

³ *ibid*, 3, 1 As to the pantheist's superiority to all standards regarding the treatment of women, see *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6, 4, 6-8.

⁴ S K Yegnanarayana Iyer, *Young Men of India*, XXXIII, p 368. See also W T Elmore's thorough discussion of demonolatry in *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism* and Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of India*.

fowls and goats to the vengeful spirits are peculiarly common. The fact that epidemics are regularly attributed to demonesses and godlings hinders health measures, for people regard it as impious to use medicines or inoculations. The extremely fearful state of mind that goes with demonolatry also affects adversely other phases of village life. The *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* says that the Hindu villager, 'lives in an atmosphere peopled by spirits generally malignant, capable of being repelled or conciliated by sacrifice, spells, incantations, amulets and other magical or semi-magical means. . . . The Hindu villager has no conception of the reign of law in the natural world. The occurrence of miracles is a matter of daily observance.'¹ Monier Williams wrote: 'The worship of at least 90 per cent of the people of India in the present day is a worship of fear.' Also 'There is not an object in heaven or earth which a Hindu is not prepared to worship'² The ordinary villager worships his divinities with food, animal sacrifices, incense, the waving of lights and the ringing of bells. Temple worship appeals to him for he sees his god's face, makes his offerings and pours out his sorrows and petitions; he believes that he hears the reply and is protected from bad luck by having eaten part of the food offered to the idol. He worships a vivid, approachable person, and any idea of a single Creator back of the idols is very shadowy.

The largest and most characteristic gatherings of India are during religious festivals. Two or three millions gather at Allahabad every twelfth year for the *Kumbh Mela*, to bathe in the holy waters where the Jumna meets the Ganges; thither men, women and children, rich and poor, flock from town and village for hundreds and thousands of miles, in the effort to wash away their sins and to gain merit by giving to holy men and other beggars. Similar festivals are also held elsewhere, and every temple has its feast days, when the people gather from the surrounding country to gain special petitions and good luck by worshipping, giving alms, bathing in dirty water, and helping to draw the great idol cars. Disastrous effects on a large scale frequently follow on the congregation of vast

¹ VI, p. 710 See also Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduisms*, p. 449.

² *Brahmanism and Hinduisms*, p. 230.



HILL CLIMBING TO EXPIATE SIN

Pilgrim crowds travel hundreds of miles to sacred places where they enjoy the excitement and pay their vows to the priests. The offerings of a single temple amount to four and a half lakhs a year.



MADURA'S RIVER FESTIVAL

Huge throngs swarm together on foot, by cart or train to wash in the sacred water and draw big cars to celebrate their gods' marriages. Religious resources need to be harnessed for the improvement of everyday living.

numbers at places of pilgrimage, where the rites involve overcrowding, exposure, and the consumption of unwholesome, though sacred, food and water. They also take pleasure in seeing the snake charmers and the men who undergo weird torments, and the rest of the sights, to say nothing of having a generally gay time, for Hinduism appeals to all the instincts.

The priests, astrologers and famous religious men in the villages are often parasites on the people, taking from them money that is needed for necessities and giving nothing except a false confidence in good luck and superstition. The hold of some religious beliefs and practices is slowly weakening. The 1921 *Census* (Baroda) says: 'Everywhere the tendencies of religious unsettlement are apparent. Hinduism, perhaps more than other faiths, shows in its social side and in its religious practices increasing signs of disintegration.' In the towns the better educated are tending to neglect temple worship and strict orthodoxy, and to adopt eclectic tenets in which there are some Christian elements. For example, Gandhi has often acknowledged the formative influence on his life of the Sermon on the Mount. Little religious change, however, is noticeable among the ignorant people of the villages, for with them, although some of the more degraded superstitions are becoming less common, the tendencies toward fatalism, asceticism and fear, remain nearly as strong as ever.

B. WHAT ARE THE FAMILY CUSTOMS?

Let us now consider different social groupings in ascending order of size: the family, the caste, the village, and finally the nation, as based on the smaller units.

Dr. Jennings, Professor of Zoology at Johns Hopkins University, has stated: 'The monogamous family with its lifelong union of mates, appears as the final term of a long evolutionary series.' The family in India is most important, though it is by no means always monogamous. Sir Valentine Chirol says: 'It is undoubtedly in the often dignified and beautiful relations which bind the Hindu family together, that Hinduism is seen at its best, and Hindu literature delights in describing and exalting them.'¹

¹ *India Old and New*, p. 21.

Rural India, without Burma, has 60 million occupied houses and roughly the same number of families. The wedding customs are very strict, society and religion so strongly enjoin marriage that almost everyone reaching puberty has been married. Child marriage is widely prevalent, as can be seen from the following table.¹

PER CENT OF PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN MARRIED		
AGE	MALES	FEMALES
0—5	1 7	3 2
5—10	8 3	20 6
10—15	16 0	40 7
15—20	46 6	86 1
20—25	64 9	95 3

In 1931 over 12 million wives were under fifteen years of age.

Religious customs greatly affect early marriage

PER CENT OF PERSONS, 10 TO 15 YEARS, WHO ARE MARRIED		
	MALE	FEMALE
Hindus	17 5	42 7
Muslims	12 8	40 1
Tribal	10 6	23 7
Jains	7 2	29 3
Sikhs	6 6	20 9
Christians	3 1	11 3

Infant and early marriage is enjoined by many of the higher castes, but is attacked by reformers on strong grounds. It takes away the opportunity for education and the natural formation of balanced character during adolescence. It plunges girls prematurely into the strain of child-bearing. It kills and cripples countless girl-mothers, and it brings millions of weaklings into a competitive world. The Sarda Act has now made illegal the marriage of boys under 18 and girls under 14, but it is often disobeyed.

The bride and groom do not see each other before the wedding, the selection being made by parents and relatives, who must scrupulously follow the dictates of custom. The astrologer must give a favourable verdict on the selection of a mate, and a dowry is commonly paid. As a usual thing, the betrothal is binding and takes place in infancy, the marriage proper is performed in childhood, and the con-

¹ 1931 *Census*, I, II, p 120.

summation of marriage takes place when the girl is 14, and the boy is 16 or over. The marriage rites differ radically according to the religion, the caste, and the part of the country. Except in the rarest circumstances a marriage is the occasion for feasts of expensive dishes, for lavish use of sweet perfumes, bright jewellery and elaborately embroidered clothes, and for prolonged social festivities. Marriage for the Hindu is of the utmost religious importance, being not a personal contract, but an eternal sacrament on which depends the whole welfare of all the family and their ancestors, who are not supposed to rest easily in heaven unless the ceremonies of the first year are properly performed and an annual offering of grain made by a male heir. More wives than one are permitted to both Hindus and Moslems, though monogamy is fairly common, unless the first wife has not borne a son. The Hindus allow no divorce, but Moslems may divorce their wives on repayment of the dowry.

The widows of India number 25·5 million, of whom 320 thousand are under fifteen. Over a seventh of the females are widows, as against a thirteenth of the females of England and Wales. Orthodox Hindu custom positively prohibits widows from remarrying, no matter if they be only a few years old. Because they are thought to have been deprived of their husbands on account of grave sins in a previous incarnation, all beautiful clothing and jewellery are forbidden to them and they are compelled to undergo strict fasts and become household drudges.

The Indian woman remains all her life subject to man. Manu ruled as follows (5, 148): 'Let her be in subjection to her father in her childhood, to her husband in her youth, to her sons when her husband has died; let a woman never enjoy independence.' Mr. Gandhi has said, 'By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have.' Woman, however, is commonly treated with honour and respect by her own family, as prescribed by Manu (355-56):

Honour to the faithful woman
Be by loving husband paid
Where a woman is not honoured,
Vain is sacrificial rite.

She exemplifies the virtues of chastity, patient submission to her husband, willing devotion to suffer for him, and a sense of mystical idealism. Far from being a nonentity, the mother is often the strongest force in the home, ruling strictly not only her young daughters-in-law, but her husband and sons as well. She has for centuries been allowed to hold property independently of her husband.¹

Forty million women in India are said to be confined for life within their own homes in the zenanas or behind the *parda* (veil or curtain). *Parda* was originally a Moslem custom, but in the North, and frequently in the South, certain classes of Hindus have adopted it. It makes the education of married girls and women expensive and virtually impossible, which is one reason why barely one female in a hundred is literate. It also cramps personality and undermines health. For example, where women are behind the *parda* the death-rate from tuberculosis has been found to be 40 per cent higher among women than men.² The villagers commonly extend their family relationships far out to their collaterals and connections by marriage; the prosperous ones willingly support even distant relatives. In the North, the whole large class is considered as part of the family. The Brahmans and the people of many Hindu castes are often organized in joint families, which are communities living in one household, the members of which are all descended through males from a common male ancestor who holds supreme sway. Every member contributes all his earnings to the common purse and is fed from the family funds. This form of social organization, however, is now becoming less frequent. The average size of family dropped from 5·8 to 4·9 in the fifty years preceding 1931. In India poor families are frequently not larger, but smaller than more wealthy ones. Jack in Bengal found that the average size of families in comfort was 5·7 members, but those in want only 4·5. Shirras in Bombay City reports the families of wage-earners with incomes over Rs. 90 to have 6·1 members, and those below Rs. 30 to have only 3·8. Two probable reasons are that death

¹ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, p. 139.

² Dr Arthur Lankester, *International Review of Missions*, April, 1917, p. 300.



RURAL WEDDING PROCESSION

Near and distant relatives enjoy the prolonged marriage ceremonies and feasts, which leave both families burdened with debt for years to come. The bride is next to the dhobi girl with a box on her head.



DRAWING WATER AS IN BYGONE DAYS

Rural women do all the heavy work of the home and walk long distances with their water pots on their heads. They need fresh interests to brighten the drab routine of their narrow existence.

accompanies poverty and that even wealthy Indian women are eager to bear children.

Many customs are closely intertwined with family life, for every orthodox Hindu must observe certain family rites, namely, the domestic sacraments, the veneration of ancestors, the worship of the family gods, the annual feast and seasons of worship, and the proper ceremonies for disposing of the dead bodies. It is usual to have elaborate feasts at weddings and in commemoration of funerals, in which the whole caste participates. The Untouchables of the village are usually given food or clothes in return for beating drums or other work. On such occasions a man is expected to make lavish expenditure, to keep up his standing, whether he can afford it or not. It is a case where in the words of Veblen, 'unproductive consumption of goods is honourable, primarily as a mark of prowess and a perquisite of human dignity.'¹

Indian men throughout the country, and now women even more strongly, are pushing a crusade to free girls and women from the customs that bind them, and to enable them to have a happy childhood and married life, to remarry if the husband dies, to move about freely, and to take a share in the progress of the country. The education of girls is also making long, forward strides. *India in 1921-22* remarked (page 222), 'The growing interest displayed by upper and middle-class Indian ladies in political and social questions; their increasing prominence on the platform and in the press; their zeal in the cause of temperance, infant welfare and philanthropic activities, must be taken as the dawn of a new era.'

Women now have the vote in British India and in a few Indian States, but the number enfranchised under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was less than a million. Under the new India Act the number is several times greater.

C. HOW DOES CASTE DIVIDE PEOPLE?

The most important and all pervading institution of village social life is caste, one of the most powerful social systems ever devised by man. In its main outlines it has stood unchanged for two millennia. The 1931 *Census* argues that

¹ *Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 69.

the essential ingredients of caste were of pre-Aryan origin. By this system a Hindu's whole social, domestic and industrial life hinges on the accident of birth. A caste is a collection of families or family groups bearing a common name, claiming common descent from a mythological ancestor, having a traditional calling and regarded as a homogeneous community by competent judges. No individual can change his caste, but castes or sub-castes as a whole may change their status. A caste may split in two, or two castes may amalgamate. New castes have arisen for a number of reasons. Sir H. H. Risley has differentiated the following types of caste: tribal, functional, sectarian, national and those formed by crossing, by emigration and by changes of custom. One of the strong motives for Manu's rigid caste laws against inter-marriage was to keep the Aryan stock from mixing with the darker skinned Dravidians. In fact *varna*, the Sanskrit word for caste, means colour. The Hindu scriptures assert that four great orders of caste were divinely instituted, namely: the Brahmins who alone were allowed to be priests and teachers; the warlike Kshatriyas and land-owning Vaisyas who were also 'twice born', and the Sudras who were compelled to serve the three higher orders. In many parts of India it is difficult or impossible to classify people into these orders. A fifth group, the repressed Panchamas, have been added to serve the Sudras.

They have gradually split into over 2,300 castes, according to the 1911 *Census*. There are also many sub-castes, whose members must marry within the sub-caste. The Brahman caste alone is reported to have 800 such sub-divisions. The religious and philosophic sanction afforded by karma and transmigration has enabled caste to endure through the millennia in spite of violent change and confusion. A man is supposed to be born into a certain caste because of good or bad actions in previous births. If born a Brahman, he has been religious in earlier lives; if an outcaste, he is expiating foul deeds. 'A man's caste is held to be an infallible index of the state of his soul.'¹ Moreover, the Hindu authorities assert an ineradicable difference in spiritual essence between the four main orders of the caste system,

¹ Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 159

for each was created from a different part of Brahma; his mouth, arms, thighs and feet

In bygone times, caste solidarity had some good results during times of turmoil and invasion by hostile forces. It helped people of different types and cultures to dwell without active discord in recognized, stable relationships and under certain moral restraints. The wealthier members of caste relieved the needs of the poverty stricken. Many arts and crafts were highly developed and carefully preserved for many centuries until destroyed by the competition of Western machinery.

At the present, however, the multifarious regulations of caste cause endless divisions, hinder progress and narrowly restrict the freedom of individuals. A Hindu must not marry his daughter to a person of another caste or sub-caste; he must not eat or drink with persons of another caste, nor eat any food that his caste regards as unclean; he is ordered not to touch a man of a lower caste, or to let the shadow of an Untouchable fall on him, or to follow any occupation not befitting his caste. Any failure to observe minutely these rules or to perform the marriage, birth and death ceremonies in due fashion is severely punished with the direst penalties by the sub-caste, caste, or all local Hindus. A delinquent is boycotted completely by the members of his own caste, who will not marry, eat or drink with any of his family. Orthodox Hindus of other castes also refuse to have dealings with him. The village priest, washerman, and barber refuse to grant him their services.

The villagers of the present day, instead of always being moulded by the rigid forms of the caste system, for their own welfare must adapt themselves to new conditions. The progressive Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda has said: 'The system which divided us into innumerable castes claiming to rise by minutely graduated steps from the Pariah to the Brahman, is a whole tissue of injustice, splitting men equal by nature into divisions, high and low, based not on the natural standard of personal qualities, but on the accident of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste for social superiority has become a source of constant ill-feeling in these days. The human desire to help the members of one's caste leads to nepotism, heart-burning, and consequent mutual distrust'

A rough idea of the proportion of persons in the main divisions of the Indian population may be gained by dividing it approximately into twentieths, as follows:

Brahmans.. ..	1
Non-Brahman Hindus ..	10
Depressed Classes and Tribes ..	3
Moslems ..	4
Other Religions . . .	2

The conservative Brahmans have ancient authority for regarding themselves as the pinnacle of perfection on earth. 'A Brahman . . . is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahman.'¹ Traditionally they are priests, interpreters of the course of the stars, and expounders of the esoteric songs and wisdom of the Vedas, having a monopoly of these functions. In modern times they condescend to many other occupations, especially government service, teaching and the law. Brahman men have the highest standard of literacy and culture of all regular Hindus, and they have for centuries been pressing into institutions of higher learning. Their reputation for abstract metaphysics has been continuous for thousands of years.

The Untouchables, or Depressed Classes, have been condemned to perpetual degradation by the caste system. The 1931 *Census*, which calls them 'Hindu Exterior Castes,' states that there are 50 million, divided into 280 sections. They are largely the descendants of the ancient races who inhabited India before the coming of the Aryans. They chose, instead of isolation in the hills, as did the Aboriginal Tribes, to accept lives of servitude in connection with the general Hindu community, of which they form the dark fringe. These Untouchables are considered beyond the pale of human society. They must spend their whole lives in menial and polluting labour and must live by themselves outside the main village. Their touch, and even their presence is considered a contamination. Never until recently were they allowed inside Hindu temples or inns, and now in only a small fraction of the total number. The sources of drinking water used by the higher castes, and some public

¹ *Laws of Manu*, 1, pp. 99-100, see also 8, p. 417; 9, pp. 317-19 10, p. 129; 11, p. 35.

roads are prohibited to them, though they have helped to pay for them in taxes. Their children have not generally been admitted into the village school. A Madras Government order (1919) stated that such children were admitted into only 609 schools out of 8,157 schools under public management in the Presidency, although the regulations required that no boy was to be refused admission merely on the ground of caste. Their abased social position has impoverished them and degraded their moral qualities. Consider the Pariahs, who in parts of South India form a large section of the Untouchables: 'On the east, in the districts of Tanjore and North Arcot, where the hold on the land of the Brahmans is strongest, and a large proportion of the agricultural workers are pariahs, these are frequently *padiyals*, or debtors whose condition is practically one of slavery, since they are bound, and their children after them, to work for the creditor for a bare pittance of food, and are liable to be transferred from one owner to another, under the disguise of a transference of the debt'¹ Similar conditions hold true among the leather workers of North India: 'Chamars live at the beck and call of others, and are obliged to do a great deal of work for which they receive no pay whatsoever. This is but a phase of the general condition of depression in which they live. They have been so conquered and broken by centuries of oppression, that they have but little self-respect left, and no ambition. Their condition is in reality serfdom and at times they are sore oppressed.'² As long as the Depressed Classes are subservient and content with their traditional lot, all goes calmly, but at the least sign of independence the village leaders and moneylenders take steps to discipline them.

About four and a half million persons belong to tribes and castes 'whose hereditary occupation is crime of one kind or another—theft, burglary, highway robbery or even assassination, combined in many instances with prostitution.' In recent years Government, with the aid of the Salvation Army and other Christian missions, have established industrial settlements and induced some tribes to remain in them, reform their ways and send their children to school.

¹ Slater, *Some South Indian Villages*, p. 239.

² Briggs, *The Chamars*, p. 224.

The primitive Aboriginal Tribes, which number about 25 millions, though racially similar to the Untouchables, are scattered over isolated hills and forests and have little or no connection with Hinduism. Most of them, with the exception of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam, are very shy, and live in an exceedingly primitive way, subsisting largely on berries and roots. They speak a large variety of languages. Their animistic religion consists of placating dread spirits by sacrifice.

The protests against the caste system made in former times by Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism have not broken down the citadel of caste. Instead, the virus of caste exclusiveness has to some extent crept into the social system of Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. In modern days, however, many of the less essential caste rules are being profoundly modified by the impact of Western education and of Christian ideals of brotherhood; and also by the extension of railways and various sorts of economic pressure. Changes in caste practices are particularly noticeable among men with English education and the modern industrial and commercial classes. While caste has been thus strongly challenged, and its details modified in the towns, in the village such fundamental matters as intermarriage have been almost unchanged. So strong has been the opposition to change among pious but illiterate people, especially among zealous women and conservative landlords, that caste still remains a dominant force in rural life. In some sections, caste consciousness is even said to be growing.

As to the treatment of the Depressed Classes, the National Social Conferences passed many resolutions, which helped to form public opinion, but which produced very meagre results in practice. The greatest work for the liberation of these downtrodden human beings has been done by Christian missions, which have made life worth living for millions of them, and have developed many strong and well educated leaders from their number. Hindu and reforming agencies, such as the Arya Samaj, have been doing similar work on a much smaller scale, to do away with untouchability. 'The removal of this curse has been placed in the forefront of the non-co-operation programme; and Mr. Gandhi has caused consternation in the orthodox camps by his slashing denunciations of the inhuman treatment meted out to the

Depressed Classes'¹ Gandhi has written, 'We Hindus may not expect freedom so long as we hold down a fifth of ourselves as bondsmen unfit even to be touched and sometimes even to approach us within a certain distance or to be seen by us.'² Recently he has thrown his great influence to allow Untouchables to enter Hindu temples. The situation shows some improvement, for Depressed Class Conferences have been held in all parts of India annually since 1921 and the number of these people belonging to co-operative societies has increased rapidly. In 1935, Dr. Ambedkar created a profound stir by exhorting his fellow Untouchables to leave Hinduism and join some other religion.

D. HOW HAVE VILLAGE ORGANIZATION AND LIFE CHANGED?

The Indian village for centuries was a compact closely knit unit, except along the south-west coast and the north-west frontier and in some areas of the South Punjab and British Himalayas. B. H. Baden Powell, the great modern student of village communities and their land tenure, summarizes the two main kinds of villages in this table:

I SEVERALTY VILLAGE	II JOINT VILLAGE
1 Influential headman (often still possessing certain privileges) is part of the natural constitution.	1 There was no headman originally, but a <i>panchayat</i> , or council of five. In modern times an official headman is appointed to represent the community.
2 Holdings are entirely separate and not shares of a unit estate	2. The holdings (sometimes joint) are shares of a unit estate.
3 There is joint liability for revenue, each holding being separately assessed on its merits.	3. Liability (joint and several) for the revenue is always assessed in a lump sum.
4 No jointly owned area of waste or 'common' land belongs to the village, or is available for partition.	4. The village site, and usually an area of waste, owned in common, is available for partition.

¹ *India in 1922*, p. 251 See also the resolutions of the National Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli, on February 11 and 12, 1922 (Quoted *ibid*, p. 345)

² *Young India*, December 12, 1929.

The severalty village prevails throughout half a million square miles in Bengal, Central India, and the west and south. The joint village, on the other hand, is characteristic of the north and north-west.

In both types of village are found two chief officers, a headman and an accountant, who are commonly hereditary in the south, and appointed by revenue officers in the north. Official selection and cash salaries are growing more common. The headman in all parts of India collects the revenue, and reports crimes, births and deaths. In the joint village of the north, he is required to do little else, the police responsibility resting on all the landholders. However, in the severalty villages of Madras and Bombay, the headman exercises judicial and other powers. The accountant or clerk, is charged with keeping the village records and maps, and preparing any revenue accounts and statements that have to be written.

The village also has subordinate officers under the orders of the headman: a man to keep watch and ward within the village limits; one or more messengers; and men to distribute irrigation water, if there is any public water supply for the land. In all the areas where the villages were closely organized, the community as a whole used to employ many servants and artisans, similar to the common blacksmith and miller of ancient rural England. Many villages have their common washerman and barber. The employment by the village of such artisans as the smith, the carpenter and the potter was prevalent in many areas. There were very often a cow-keeper, an astrologer, a schoolmaster and an *Ayurvedic* physician with his drugs. All of these were paid either by giving them a grant of rent-free land or by regularly donating to them a prescriptive share of the harvest. But in modern days, money payments are becoming increasingly common. In addition to the designated servants, the village in olden times often compelled all its men to work for the common interest, and this practice still persists in some areas, especially in connection with repairs on small irrigation works or public buildings. Mysore makes definite regulations about such labour. A system of private police, under which men of predatory habits are paid to keep the village free from other robbers, is still in vogue in many areas.

The village panchayats have enabled provinces devastated by wars to reconstruct their rural economy. They have helped vast areas ruined by repeated famines to recover their property, and repeopled regions left desolate by massacres. In many parts of India, steps have recently been taken to restore to these panchayats some of their ancient powers. For example, in the United Provinces, 3,830 panchayats have been organized to deal with petty civil suits and criminal offences.¹ There are many ways in which the power of self-direction within the village can be developed to good advantage. Dr. John Matthai says: 'The management of private schools, the construction and repair of school buildings, tanks and wells, the distribution of water in lands under irrigation, the settlement of small disputes, the common enjoyment of grazing and woodcutting in forests, the administration of village co-operative credit societies—these are some of the matters in which village communities even now show a perceptible amount of common life and purpose.'²

The customs of the market place involve long bargainings and conversations. The villagers, in addition to buying the daily necessities of life in the small shop in their own village, also crowd to the fairs that are held every week or ten days for a group of villages, at which prolonged bickerings take place over the price of grain, cloth and the petty comforts of life.

E. WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL FACTORS?

India is divided politically into British India and the Indian States. British India is under the direct rule of the British and Indian Governments, and has 61 per cent of the area and 77 per cent of the people. It is subdivided into 11 major provinces, including Sind and Orissa. The rest of India is made up of over 700 Indian States, large and small, which have varying degrees of autonomy in their internal affairs, but all acknowledge the suzerainty of the British King Emperor, and follow the foreign policy laid

¹ *India in 1923*, p. 62. As to the great value of village self-government, see *Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralization in India*, p. 238.

² *Village Government in British India*, p. 19.

down by his representative, the Viceroy. A few of them are more progressive than British India, but others have autocratic and extravagant courts that do little to meet the economic and educational needs of their people.

India's problems are complicated by her having many racial groups with varied characteristics and traditions. The latest researches, published in the 1931 *Census*, have upset earlier ideas, including those of Risley, and shown that there have been six original types: (a) Only the slightest traces now exist of the Negritos who formed the oldest stock. (b) They were very early replaced by an Australoid type now found among the Veddas of Ceylon, the aboriginal tribes of Central and Southern India and less clearly among some of the Depressed Classes. (c) These in turn were superseded by a Mediterranean race which according to Hutton, 'appears to be the one that contributed most to the physical composition of the peoples of India and perhaps also to their culture.'¹ It included most of the Indus Valley dwellers of five thousand years ago, whose wonderful culture has just been discovered. This race now forms the bulk of the population in the Peninsula, where Dravidian languages are spoken, and also much of that in North India. (d) It is mixed along the West Coast and Bengal with an Armenoid race which probably entered India from the north-west before the next group. (e) The Aryan-speaking Proto-Nordics entered India from the same direction, bringing with them a virile culture. This race has also widely mingled with the Dravidians. (f) The Mongoloids are an important racial factor only near the Himalayas and in Assam and Burma.

India is also divided linguistically, having 13 languages each spoken by over five million people, and a total of 225 distinct languages. Of these, the 27 Indo-Aryan languages are spoken by 257 millions, 14 Dravidian tongues by 72 millions, while the remaining 184 languages (mostly Mongolian) are used by only 20 million people. Most people in northern and central India speak Hindi or a related language or Urdu. The extremely deep-rooted religious and caste barriers have already been described in earlier sections of this chapter.

¹ *Census*, India, I, 453.

Although these diversities, accentuated by the vastness of India's population and size, form serious obstacles to complete national unity, still the country has for thousands of years been united to some extent by common culture, traditions and folklore spread by story, song and drama. Moreover, the strong barriers of mountain and sea blocking off the country, except on the north-west, have tended toward unity.

The strongest consolidating forces of recent times have been British rule, with its just governance and good network of communication, and common education in the English language. The Secretary of State for India on August 20, 1917, stated the policy of the British Government to be 'that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.' Since then the whole political situation has changed with tremendous rapidity. For one thing, the passage of the Government of India Act, near the end of 1919, increased the number of qualified voters from less than 50,000 to nearly 5,000,000, and in 1935 the number was again raised to over 30,000,000. The only Asiatic land with a greater number of effective voters is Japan, where 95 per cent of the people are literate and where representative government has been in existence since 1890. Women have been enfranchised in British India and several Indian States. Since India has a literacy rate of 8 per cent, and since the voting qualifications are based on property, millions of illiterate villagers have been placed on the rolls. The main exception to property requirements is that university graduates of seven years' standing may vote for the special university seats.

At the same time that the franchise was enlarged, certain branches of administration in the provinces were opened to popular consideration and direction. The main subjects so transferred were local self-government, medical administration and public health, education, public works, agriculture, forests and fisheries, co-operation, excise, registration and industrial development. These fields were placed under Ministers selected by the Governors from among the popular majority in the Legislative Council. The other branches were

still reserved until 1935 to executive councillors amenable finally to the British Parliament. The Governor was the connecting link between these two parts of the provincial government. The result of these changes was that the illiterate village landowners had more voice in the government than most of the best educated university men had in 1919. Even before the popular elections, the peasants were gradually coming more into contact with their fellow countrymen in other places. But until a few years ago, the classes from which were drawn the village officials, priests and tradesmen, were the only ones who concerned themselves with political affairs, while now interest in national matters has been kindled among all classes, including the farmers and artisans, who are now keen for discussion.

The men who began to serve in the Legislative Councils at the beginning of 1921, and the popular ministers, performed their duties with an ability that surprised many British administrators. However, the smallness of the power actually obtained by the council members disappointed the hopes of a great many Indians. A period of experiment and uncertainty began, which has not yet resulted in the formation of coherent political parties.

Underlying and prompting these constitutional changes, has been a striking development of nationalism during the twentieth century, springing into flame with Japan's defeat of Russia and strengthened during the world catastrophe of 1914-18. There are new and insistent demands for respect and self-determination. In fact since 1919, under the self-sacrificing leadership of the 'great-souled' M. K. Gandhi, nationalism has become the most potent single factor in India's life. Notwithstanding the defects and excesses that may be found in the national movement, it promises under sound guidance, to be profoundly helpful in healing the country's serious internal divisions of religion, caste and race. The Hindu and Muslim leaders have tried hard to smooth over their political and other differences. The rank and file of these two faiths, however, are still easily stirred against each other over religious observances and processions. The newly aroused national spirit is also a mighty force capable of giving strong momentum to India's social and political progress.

Since 1918, the national movement has been more determined and broadly supported than before. When civil disobedience was revived, it was suppressed by coercive ordinances and laws. The National Congress decided to contest the elections at the end of 1934 and sent to the Legislative Assembly nearly all its candidates.

The British Parliament passed the new Government of India Act in 1935, which provides for a further extension of the franchise, provincial autonomy, a Federal Government including those Indian States desiring to come in, the complete reservation to the Governor-General of the Departments of Defence and External Affairs and the intrusting to him of a broad range of special responsibilities about which he can pass his own acts and ordinances. The Lower Chamber of the legislature is partly elected by provincial councils, and partly appointed by the rulers of the States. It may vote on less than half of the federal expenditures. The Act was distasteful to every important section of Indian political opinion.

F. WHAT ARE THE BEARINGS ON EDUCATION?

The different religions now often make their adherents antagonistic to each other, instead of bringing them together. Schools can help remedy this situation by implanting goodwill and understanding in their pupils.

The customs connected with the early marriage and seclusion of girls require modification before most of them can secure even a primary education. A new understanding of the right relation between the sexes needs to be imparted in school, to get the boys to practise real respect for girls and women. Pupils should be given an understanding of their institutions and customs, and have practice in intelligent and constructive criticism of them.

The underlying conflict of many Hindus concerning reform is shown by Arthur Mayhew, 'The most eloquent at social reform conferences have allowed their infant daughters to be married, refused marriage to child widows, and voted against proposals for raising the age of consent. On the platform they enunciate in all sincerity statements that are a real part of their educational apparatus and professional life. But in their inner conduct they are obeying forces that

lie outside their professional life and sway their whole personality.¹ The large gap between theory and practice is mostly due to abstract literary education appealing only to the intellect and not to the springs of character. Children are taught in school to emphasize speaking, not living; to describe verbally how things should be done without doing them. Their memories are trained, but their personalities are not developed by wholehearted social activities. Were their purposes stronger and more social, their lives would be better integrated and more useful.

Personal unity achieved through purposeful education would result in social progress. Children and adults would be freed from the bad inhibitions and opposing tensions which now hinder resolute action in the face of difficulties. Faulty education has trained people to talk about progress but it has not helped them to sacrifice themselves for it. The obstacles are hard to surmount, for the pessimistic fatalism and superstitious fears commonly found in popular religion strengthen the stubborn social inertia of the cultivators. School children must be taught to exercise initiative, instead of always being made to follow a rigid routine determined by the teacher.

It is most unfortunate that the school's great mission of fostering broader understanding and fellowship is in so many ways counteracted by caste, which forms a grave barrier to mutual helpfulness. Moreover, caste exclusiveness and the loathing of the caste for the outcaste people, still often render it impossible to have one school that will include all the children of the village. The caste spirit has also tended to make people attach too high a value to abstract, literary education, and too low a value to any concrete, practical education savouring of manual labour.

The fact that the Indian village has a tradition of united and shared interests, will pave the way for future co-operation of the whole village in promoting the common welfare and strengthening the school. Though present obstacles to unity are great, they can be overcome by hard work and a fairer appreciation of the past. The village has lost much of its former common life, but the teacher can help to restore it by

¹ *The Education of India*, p. 213

gathering the people for recreation, sociability and increased knowledge. He can lead others to take an active interest in such meetings and a responsibility for arranging them.

The sources of disunion are pronounced, but they can be overcome and India made strong through education broadly national in spirit. The intense patriotic ardour forms a great potential resource for securing better conditions of life and education and for breaking down the ancient evil barriers. India is in transition and her people hovering between the old and new. There is a danger of nationalism being narrow, exclusive and dishonest. In the relationship of India and Britain, two very complex civilizations are interacting and giving rise to many tensions and problems. It is most desirable that the best elements from each source, not the worst, be preserved and combined into a strong whole.

The striking broadening of the franchise and the amount of popular control in the provincial administrations, render imperative redoubled efforts to impart literacy and good citizenship to the youth of the land. Moreover, the times demand that the village children should become more progressive and self-respecting, instead of being custom-bound and self-contemptuous, as in the past. Rural schools with progressive teachers can render increasingly important service in securing these ends. With everything at stake, the changes that are imminent in educational policy need to be wisely planned on a broad basis of history and experience.

Every reader in India has his or her God-given part to play in making the life of this land more truly educative and in moulding education to further social progress. Each one can express his unquenchable love for needy village children by giving himself to resolute, prayerful action.

SECOND ENQUIRY:

HOW CAN EDUCATION BE REMADE
TO REBUILD VILLAGE LIFE?

*Go and stand amidst their scowling hearts,
my child, and let your gentle eyes fall upon
them like the forgiving peace of the evening
over the strife of the day. Let them see
your face, my child, and thus know the
meaning of all things; let them love you
and thus love each other.*

—TAGORE

CHAPTER IV

PUPILS DEVELOP THROUGH VITAL COURSES

A. What were the Goals of Ancient Indian Schools?—B. At What have British Schools in India Aimed?—C. At What should Rural Primary Education Aim?—D. How can Children Best be Led to Learn?—E. What Experiences Build Citizenship and Character?—F. What Exercises Facilitate Verbal Communication?—G. What Activities Give Health and Recreation?—H. What Enterprises Develop Practical Ability?

A. WHAT WERE THE GOALS OF ANCIENT INDIAN SCHOOLS?

ACCORDING to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 'Inscriptions on stone and copper, the palm-leaf records of the temples, and in later days the widespread manufacture of paper, all alike indicate, not only the general knowledge, but also the common use of the art of writing. From the earliest times the caste of Brahmans have preserved, by oral tradition as well as in manuscripts, a literature unrivalled alike in its antiquity and in the intellectual subtlety of its contents. Through all changes of government, vernacular instruction in its simplest form has always been given at least to the children of respectable classes, in every large village.'¹ The Indian Educational Commission of 1882 reported: 'Every large Hindu village possessed a school of its own and the foundation of a system of national education has, long previous to British rule, been laid by the spontaneous efforts of Hindu and Mohammedan society.'²

¹ 14th Edition, XII, p. 167.

² See Keay, *Ancient Education in India: Cyclopædia of Education*, III, p. 399; Matthai, *Village Government in British India*; McKee, *Developing a Project Curriculum for Village Schools in India*.

The ancient forest schools of India were remarkable institutions of austere, friendly life and high religious ideals. To them India owes much of her noble heritage of philosophy and tolerance. They manifested many good qualities, especially: a self-sacrificing and truly religious guru or teacher, close personal association between this guru and his pupils, an emphasis on loyal obedience and observation, joint participation by the boys in varied activities ministering to the real needs of life, training in skill and self reliance, appreciative and continued contacts with nature, thoughtful meditation on the reality and presence of the Infinite. We should study such features and introduce whatever is applicable to presentday education. The fact that they used to be practised in India, makes their use specially desirable and suitable. However, the ancient schools laid too much emphasis on memorizing, on the maintenance of existing conditions and on individual merit rather than on broad social welfare.

Another kind of institution was the apprentice school organized by certain castes and classes, such as warriors and artisans, to train their own children to follow in their footsteps. Although these vocational schools had very narrow curricula and admitted children from only a few castes, still they point the way to handicraft training, which is urgently needed in modern India to enable children to learn profitable occupations by which they can further the national wealth and their own welfare.

Besides such religious and vocational schools, secular instruction of a rudimentary kind was given to many village children, coming mostly from the families of traders who needed to keep accounts, but also in some cases from agricultural families. The teacher was highly respected and given a livelihood by the people of the village, usually a regular share of the harvest. Though these schools were not aided by the State, the hearty support they received from villagers in all parts of India needs to be imitated now. This schooling was narrowly utilitarian and led to none of the learned professions such as the priesthood and the law, these being the monopoly of a few castes. Like the religious schools, they placed excessive stress on mere memory work.

While much of value may be learned from these ancient

schools, most people are forced to agree with the conclusion of Lala Lajpat Rai, 'that any widespread revival of the ancient or medieval systems of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries back, and I am certain that the country will not adopt it.'¹

The extent to which the indigenous village schools survived until the 19th century depended on whether the particular area was left in peace or overrun by military bands, during the chaotic times following the break up of the Mogul Empire. Investigators for the East India Company estimated before 1840 that a sixth of the boys in the Madras Presidency were under some sort of instruction, and an eighth of those in Bombay, proportions which were far exceeded by some of the districts of Bengal. William Adam concluded that vernacular education in Bengal was declining, and that it served only the Zemindars' agents and petty tradesmen, but not the productive classes. He estimated that about 5.5 per cent of the adult male population of Bengal could read and write.

B AT WHAT HAVE BRITISH SCHOOLS IN INDIA AIMED ?

The East India Company in 1813 began giving grants to promote Oriental learning through the medium of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The champions of these schools emphasized the importance of carefully studying the ancient lore of India. About the same time missionaries and others started schools to give instruction in the English language and literature, with the idea of bringing India into touch with progressive Western ideas. A still smaller party advocated a broad use of the Indian vernaculars. The proponents of the classical tongues of the East, of English, and of the vernaculars had long, heated discussions as to the medium of instruction which the Government should encourage by its grants.

The matter was settled in favour of English in 1835 by Thomas Babington Macaulay's famous minute, so bitterly disdainful of the whole of Indian culture. His view of the matter was accepted by Lord William Bentinck's Government. The effects of this policy on education have been felt ever since. It has given educated people with

¹ *National Education in India*, p. 55.

diverse mother tongues a means of communicating with one another. It has also opened to them the culture, science and free institutions of a more advanced country, and showed them the defects in their own customs. Undoubtedly the knowledge of English was truly valuable, but it would have been far more so if the study of Indian languages and achievements had been encouraged, not discouraged.

The first comprehensive system of education for India was formulated by Sir Charles Wood, in his memorable Despatch of the East India Company's Court of Directors in 1854. This far-sighted document acknowledged 'the responsibility of the Government towards the teeming millions, and its desire to combat the ignorance of the people, which may be considered the greatest curse of the country.' The extension of popular education was to be encouraged through a system of grants-in-aid to privately managed schools, a useful system which still remains in force. A Department of Public Instruction with a corps of inspectors was created in each province.

Several proposals regarding elementary education were not carried out, but secondary education fared better. One of the purposes of the Despatch most fully realized has been the securing of trained men for Government employ. In fact, aspirants for this work and the legal profession are now so many as to glut the market with thousands of unemployed men competing hungrily for the few available openings in respectable and well-paid work, especially in the higher posts.

The introduction of English into the first few classes and its virtually exclusive use as a medium of instruction in high schools has led to some most unfortunate results. It has tended to breed indifference and disdain among future leaders toward their own great heritage of literature, folk-lore and philosophy. The fact that the intelligentsia have been weaned away from freely using their mother tongues, has cut them adrift from what should prove the basis for acquiring new knowledge. Instead, they are made to carry on their studies in a foreign tongue which is poorly taught to them at first and is extremely difficult to master thoroughly. The memorizing of many words without any real understanding of their exact meanings has been another bad result. Dr. Garfield Williams has written: 'The British, in giving so-

called Western education to India, gave her the worst features of their own education and withheld from her most of the best.¹

Queen Victoria proclaimed a policy of religious neutrality when she took over the rule of India from the East India Company in 1858. Since then, schools under Government management have not given any religious instruction. Privately managed schools have been allowed to teach religious subjects, but the public examinations applying to all schools have not covered them. Religious study has been neglected and has been divorced from schooling. This has greatly lessened the hold of education on the hidden springs of character. Arthur Mayhew, a retired Director of Public Instruction says, 'Our education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India.'

The Education Commission of 1882 went further than the Despatch of 1854 in emphasizing the claims of popular education, recommending 'that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.'

After a careful survey of its whole education policy in 1904, the Indian Government made this pronouncement which has not been zealously followed: 'On a general view of the question, the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation.'

The cause of free, compulsory education for the masses was energetically pushed by the great Indian statesman, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, in the Imperial Legislative Council during 1910 and 1911, but the Government ruled that low funds prevented the adoption of such a course. The King Emperor at the Calcutta Durbar in 1912 announced, 'It is my wish

¹ 'Last Ten Years in India', *International Review of Missions*, July, 1923.

that there may be spread over the land a net work of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal, manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations of life. And it is my wish too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train; a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.' The Indian Government in 1913 announced: 'The proposition that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has, in the present circumstances of India, a predominant claim upon the public funds, represents accepted policy no longer open to discussion.' The present circumstances demand that the policies laid down in 1904 and 1913 be thoroughly carried out by comprehensive planning based on progressive principles of education, by energetic action, and by the expenditure of far more money. What is more important than to educate the citizens of tomorrow?

C. AT WHAT SHOULD RURAL PRIMARY EDUCATION AIM?

What do we mean by education? The Vellore Educational Conference of 1926 described it as 'life (not merely preparation for life), the development of all the pupils' powers of body, mind and soul in a constantly widening series of purposeful activities, conceived and planned by them under the teacher's guidance, and related to the life of the class as a small community and to the larger life of the world without.'

School life in India's villages is so short that the pupils should soon come to stand on their own feet intellectually and think things through by themselves without always depending on the teacher. The great objective of the modern school is to make the children conscious partners in the whole educative process. It is not enough for the teacher to have purposes and the ability to reach them; the pupils also must form their own purposes which will broaden and strengthen as they proceed in school.¹

¹ Dr. Kilpatrick's *How We Learn* and his other books are exceedingly valuable on this subject.

1. We may state that the general aim of all education is to *help every child become, not an aimless machine, but a purposeful human being*, (a) whole-heartedly participating in real life now, not half-heartedly preparing for later existence, (b) harmoniously developing his whole being—body, mind and spirit—not training a few isolated abilities, (c) open-mindedly seeking, never stubbornly rejecting, new truth, (d) making rational decisions founded on evidence, instead of thoughtlessly accepting blind custom.

But for detailed guidance in evaluating the primary curriculum and teaching methods, we need more definite, detailed aims than the above. If the school's aims are not clear, its results will be indefinite and unsatisfactory. It need not attempt what other agencies can do better. Many valuable lessons can be taught in co-operation with the family, for a number of useful processes are carried on in the village home, which in industrialized countries are done in distant factories. Society has entrusted the school with special functions that cannot better be performed in other ways.

In discovering the definite aims of the primary school, we can receive help from the findings of educational thinkers in America. The late Dr. F. G. Bonser of Columbia University briefly stated the goals as: health, practical efficiency, citizenship and recreation. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of two important educational commissions in Africa, has a similar list; health, appreciation and use of the environment, improvement of family life and transmission of the social heritage, and recreation. The American National Conference of Parents and Teachers is more explicit: health and safety worthy home membership; mastery of the tools, techniques and spirit of learning; citizenship and world goodwill; vocational and economic effectiveness; wise use of leisure; and ethical character. Some of these goals apply better to middle and secondary than to primary schools. These aims may be brought into line with the chapters about existing conditions and also with the sections given below on courses: (a) character and citizenship (based on chapter III), (b) verbal communication, (c) health and recreation (chapter II), and (d) practical ability (chapter I). Definite goals for primary education in Indian villages are stated in the following paragraphs.

2. The school exists to help every child *build moral character and good citizenship*: (a) firm integrity and courageous conviction, (b) responsible co-operation with others in serving the home, the school, the village and the nation, and in fostering goodwill and social progress, (c) appreciation of the best of India's heritage and of the noblest characters of this and other lands, (d) enrichment of the higher life.

3. The school is to assist each pupil to have *facile oral and written communication with others*, including a command of: (a) fluent, correct speech to ask intelligent questions, convey accurate information and tell useful stories, (b) silent reading for comprehending the best thoughts and deeds of the past and present, (c) reading aloud and writing to spread helpful ideas to others.

4. Education should enable every boy and girl to have *sound health and wholesome recreation*: (a) the habits and knowledge necessary to attain vitality that will overcome disease, (b) a sound, well controlled body, growing in weight, (c) responsibility for school and village sanitation, (d) physical recreation in suitable games, folk dances and drills, (e) the wise use of leisure time for refreshment and culture, (f) appreciation of good music, drama and art.

5. The school is to aid all its pupils to grow in *practical ability*, including: (a) skill in number and space work useful to the villager, (b) appreciation of the natural environment, and of agriculture, pasturage and rural handicrafts, (c) skill in using simple tools and methods, developing the children's individual aptitudes, (d) wise purchase and use of common goods, (e) prevention of exploitation.

D. HOW CAN PUPILS BEST BE LED TO LEARN?

The commonest method of teaching Indian village children is the monotonous repetition of obscure subject matter until it is memorized. In reality, as E. L. Thorndike points out, 'Practice without zeal—with equal comfort at success and failure—does not make perfect, and the nervous system grows away from the method in which it is exercised with resulting discomfort.' Indian children are trained to repeat multiplication tables with 256 or 400 combinations instead of 45, and often learn by heart the whole primer. Such

méchanical drill is unduly emphasized in inspections, examinations and even in daily teaching.

The teacher has accepted most of his ideas on the basis of authority and expects his pupils to do likewise, without giving them satisfying explanations or illustrations. He cares more for syllabus than for pupils, and most of all about holding his job. Scarcely any village teachers have had over nine years of schooling, and many have had far less; only half have had any professional training at all. But even fully trained teachers who are not adequately supervised, frequently slip back into poorer methods.

Reading and writing are taught by the alphabet method without sufficient motive on the part of the pupils. This is one of the main reasons for the children lapsing into illiteracy after leaving school. Millions of children are forced to spend two to four times as long on gaining a rudimentary knowledge of reading as would be needed if they benefited by good teaching. The non-literary subjects are taught even worse than those involving facility with letters and words. The mistake is common of trying to make all children work at the identical rate of speed. For example, the 1919 Baroda syllabus for the first grade says, 'The teacher should take care that the progress of all children should be uniform.'

How far does school teaching now help toward the general goal of primary education? The weight of the teaching methods is more thrown on the side of turning out aimless machines than of helping children become purposeful personalities. The pupils rarely have any experience in planning to achieve their purposes, in sharing in real life, in seeking for new truth, or in intelligently judging ideas and actions on the basis of evidence. A growing number of schools have made great headway toward this aim, but thousands employ wooden, ineffective methods which harm the children instead of helping them.

The results produced by the teaching of the village schools are extremely narrow in range, although they may not be negligible. These results are commonly tested in several ways. The pupils have to read aloud a page from the textbook, with no questions asked about the meaning, which tests memory and pronunciation, not comprehension. Special tests

are given by the teacher or inspector which do not offer a sound basis of comparison with other schools, since they vary with the examiners and the school. Uniform examinations at the end of the primary stage are conducted for all the schools in some provinces. They are even held at the close of the lower primary stage. These and higher examinations tend to dominate instruction entirely too much.

How can we improve the quality of teaching?

1. *Take advantage of the natural tendencies of pupils by working in line with, instead of against them.* This is most necessary in rural schools, where so much is to be accomplished in a few short years, facing parental opposition and inertia. Efficiency comes from harnessing all the available energies of children to constructive ends, rather than ignoring them or letting them become destructive. Some of the native tendencies that Dr. E. L. Thorndike mentions as being most useful for educational ends are: to explore objects carefully with the eyes, to respond by many different sounds in various sequences to external stimuli, to handle and manipulate objects, to feel satisfied at being the cause of an occurrence, and to engage in diverse forms of physical and mental activity.¹

School subjects may be linked with these and other tendencies in such ways as the following. We can arrange subject matter when first presenting it in psychological order to interest children, rather than in logical order to satisfy adults. Topics may be suggested when pupils are ready for them, not when they are bored, since a keen appetite is as necessary for apt learning as for good digestion. Children's desirable associations and activities may be made permanent.² We may help the pupils to be active rather than passive, and give them the satisfaction of constructing things, of working with others and of getting their mates' approval of their good actions.

2. *Accord the personality of each child a larger measure of respect.* Teachers often despise the child as a faulty imitation of an adult, but the child rightly thinks of himself as a person

¹ *Educational Psychology*, I.

² *ibid.*, I, pp. 123, 172-73. See appendix C below on the laws of learning.

among persons. The more he is respected, the better work he will do. Sometimes we foolishly restrict his natural ways of expression and try to impose conventional standards, whereas his own phrases, though crude, are genuine and often the beginning of something truly beautiful. One child differs markedly from another in ability and aptitudes, and each should be encouraged to make his distinctive contributions to the group, instead of being vainly forced into the same narrow mould as all the rest.

3. *Encourage every pupil to form his own purposes in school work.* This makes for quicker, fuller and more lasting learning than is ever possible to an aimless child, for a strong purpose concentrates the pupil's whole self, body, mind and spirit, on the matter in hand. The child can be gradually led to form stronger, clearer, steadier and more social purposes. These form the prime essential of the project approach, for without purpose on the learner's part there can be no project, which is a unit of whole-hearted, purposeful activity. The guidance of the teacher is retained—not his dominance. Projects may be either individual or group, preferably the latter. Major projects challenge attention for a year or a few months, minor projects for a shorter period. The following major projects have been found at Moga of very great value in improving what is learned and in unifying a year's work in these classes: (i) the rural home and its relationships to the village, (ii) the farm with an intensive study of one crop, (iii) the village and its relationships to the district, (iv) the rural shop and post office and their relationships to the province, (v) the Moga school, and (vi) a dispensary. The typical project has four steps: purposing, planning, executing and judging—in all of which the pupils have the main part, though the teacher suggests and assists whenever necessary. 'This project curriculum has led to a great increase in the pupils' interest in the work, because most children desire to construct things, to work out difficulties closely related to life and work, and to imitate the life and work of parents and acquaintances. This interest, together with modern methods of teaching the various school subjects, has resulted in greater accomplishment, for it is now possible for many pupils of the first grade to complete both sections of their class and all the second

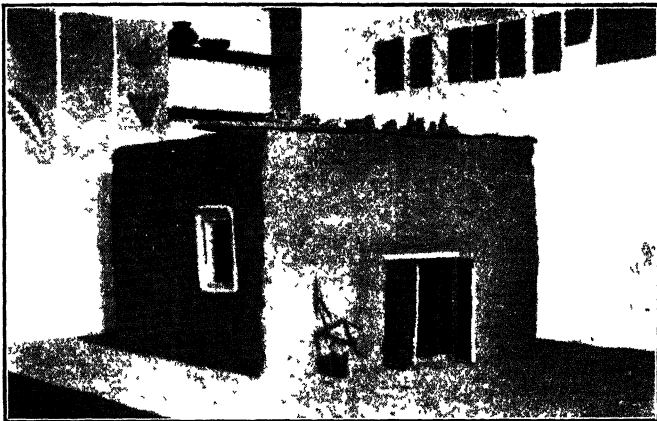
grade work in one school year.'¹ A visitor to Moga 'has remarked on the effect of projects on the usual curriculum, 'not only are all the demands of the Punjab curriculum met with excellent results, but a great deal more is covered. This is very largely the result of the project method which is adopted throughout the school.'

4. *Help the children to participate in real life activities in school, instead of preparing them for life by unreal samples and bad imitations.* We must treat their minds, not as granaries that pile up grain for future consumption, but as mills actually grinding the grain of race experience for present needs. Working with other children in actual enterprises producing concrete results, gives the lesson an interest and value to be gained in no other way. It fosters the pupils' initiative and responsibility, two traits much needed in India to-day. It brings the school and home closer together. A Government officer has written of Moga: 'The class work and the outside work are correlated. The field work is related to class studies through nature study in primary, and agriculture in the middle (stage), through composition, account keeping, etc. The knowledge gained through carrying on of village trades is made use of in making and repairing articles for the school or the farm, in preparing drawings of implements, etc., and in the study of village problems.'²

5. *Guide children into growing independence in studying and searching for truth.* The Indian village teacher has so many pupils of varied ages in his classes that he cannot be teaching them all at the same time. Only if they learn to read and study by themselves, will they derive much benefit from school. Habits of independent study would enable them to continue their education after they leave school. Dr. F. M. McMurry has stated the main factors in proper study as: 'The setting up of a need or difficulty to master, the collecting of data, selecting among them, organizing them, and

¹ Dr. W. J. McKee, 'Rural Education in India,' *International Review of Missions*, July, 1923, p. 353. Dr. W. H. Kilpatrick's *How We Learn* describes the meaning and basis of the project method. See Miss A. B. Van Doren's *Projects in Indian Education* and appendix B below.

² *Occasional Report*, No. 14, p. 66.



MOGA'S FIRST STANDARD PROJECT

The children purpose to erect a sanitary house to scale with adequate doors, windows and useful equipment. Home building teaches skill and leads their minds to rural reconstruction and nation building.



PHYSICAL JERKS

At Sangla Hill, whither Alexander the Great led his armies, these children are building strong bodies. Such development far outweighs the loading of sickly children with indigestible information.

testing them by use.¹ Children learn to study by themselves, if they are working on a problem that is real and vital to them. If the teacher fails to show what the problem really is and crams his pupils' heads with second-hand solutions, they get mental indigestion and nausea. Conversely, children show remarkable powers of learning and thinking about matters that grip their attention.

6. *Revise the common idea that the teacher is the petty tyrant of the schoolroom*, forcing knowledge on recalcitrant minds by external authority, punishments and threats, prizes and promises. Such a man can make long winded orations, keep the children in school and veneer them with a superficial smattering of useless information by mechanical devices, but he cannot truly teach, for there can be no teaching without learning, and no learning without the co-operation of the learner. Coercion can prevent certain bad things from happening, but it cannot insure that good things take place. The true teacher is the chairman of a co-operative society, the members of which are himself and the pupils, whose common goal is the quest for more truth and stronger character. He is a guide and leader of persons, who arouses the best in them and shows good ways of beginning. He trusts his young friends to work out their own ideas with a few suggestions from him, and does not insist that their conclusions be identical with his. The teacher learns as well as teaches; the pupils teach each other as well as learn. A deep community of interest binds teacher and taught, for they are all co-operating in a shared enterprise.²

7. *Arrange for some scientific experiments in India as to teaching methods and educational tests*, to be conducted under controlled conditions by educators trained for such work. There is a need to investigate the methods of instruction best suited to Indian children and conditions. Several men in India have worked on intelligence tests, but achievement tests for various school subjects should be developed and standardized first for language areas, later for all India.

¹ See also the same author's *How to Study and Teaching How to Study* and G. M. Whipple's *How to Study Effectively*

² Teaching methods will also be improved by having more adequate schools (chapter V) and better teacher preparation (Third Enquiry).

E. WHAT ACTIVITIES BUILD CITIZENSHIP
AND CHARACTER?

The social activities of children in school need to be redirected so as to enable them to become intelligent and worthy citizens of the new day. To make such efforts effective, they must be undertaken in co-operation with the home and the village, since such a small part of the children's time is passed in school. Even during the brief years when village children are enrolled in school, most of their time is spent outside of school. Supposing that the attendance were regular for four hours a day during 182 days a year the children would spend only one-eighth of their waking hours in school. The seven-eighths of time out of school often deadens or counteracts the work done in school. During this time the village boys and girls have a variety of occupations and duties, which may either dull their minds or else be made really educative. The boys commonly tend the cattle, sheep and goats, and help their fathers in agricultural operations. 'The girl is a very busy member of the Indian village home. She draws water from the well, pounds and winnows the rice or other cereal for food, gathers firewood, cleans the house, and in every interval of freedom from these duties carries on her hip the inevitable baby, of whose care she is almost entirely ignorant.'¹ The Linlithgow Commission stated (page 513): 'It is essential to the happiness and efficiency of children in the villages that their upbringing should be in harmony with their environment, and to this end it is most desirable that every element in the education they receive in their village schools should draw strength and inspiration from the life of the countryside.' However, education and life have been divorced to the serious injury of both. In words of John Dewey, 'From the standpoint of the child, a great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experience he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself, while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in his daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school—its isolation from life.' Education and life must be reunited to reinforce each other.

¹ *Village Education in India*, p. 68.

How far do village schools help their pupils in reaching the general aim of education, that of helping them become purposeful human beings, not aimless machines? Do they assist them to participate whole-heartedly in real life now? to seek new truth open-mindedly and make rational decisions founded on evidence? To a large extent, most village schools fail to approach this great educational goal. We are apt to find sluggishness, instead of alertness, blank faces instead of open minds, an emphasis on effortless absorption and rote memorization rather than on the development of decisive, rational thinking. A certain kind of observation there is, but it is narrow in range, even though the open country offers unlimited scope for it. Pupils go out from school having memorized some random information, but without the power to think or to purpose whole-heartedly.

Have the schools turned out young people of firm integrity and courageous conviction? The educational system has been widely condemned for its failure in this regard. It has done little to overcome the Indian villager's natural passivity and easy acquiescence, intensified as it has been by the compulsion of caste and other fatalistic traditions. In the words of Sir Henry Sharp, 'The Hindu lad is not loutish, like the lower class English boy; but quiet, self-respecting, deferential and well-mannered. He is endowed with much (rather superficial) common sense, aplomb and self-possession.' Common passive faults are fatalism, easy discouragement and superstition. Most of them are hopelessly at the mercy of natural forces, irrational tradition and of money-lenders and others who dominate their lives. Consequently, they easily slip into a state of mental lethargy, in which they rely blindly upon custom and authority, without having the courage of their convictions.

Do these schools develop the boys and girls in responsible co-operation with others in serving the home, the school and the village? Do they prepare them to foster goodwill and social progress? Woefully little is being accomplished toward these aims. However, the 219,000 boy scouts and girl guides have usefully served and co-operated wherever they are well led and do steady work. They have not done much in the villages, except in the Punjab. Not only in the villages but also in the schools, the antagonisms

of religion and caste sometimes divide the children. Their parents are separated not only from other villagers, but also from the people of the towns who do not understand them. On account of their isolation, they are liable to be suspicious and afraid to co-operate with others. Schools have failed to break down these attitudes. Dr. McKee has written, 'In India, education has tended to underestimate the social aspects of the environment and of the class room. The course of study has not been developed on the basis of what is required to adjust pupils to their environment or to enlarge and improve it. It has aimed at selfish individualism and not the regeneration of society.'

Have the schools in the British system of education in India helped their children to appreciate the valuable elements in India's heritage, her noblest characters and those of other countries? The original decision to emphasize the teaching of English was based on Macaulay's undisguised disgust for Indian civilization and literature. Ever since then, the textbooks of history and biography have tended to glorify Britain and disparage the culture of India. In this way the whole educational edifice has been erected on an unnatural, insecure foundation. The aided schools have always been allowed to introduce any sort of religious teaching provided that it did not interfere with secular instruction; but religion, even in Christian schools, has done very little to strengthen character. The unrecognized schools exist largely in order to teach children to recite or read religious books, usually in a classical language, such as Sanskrit or Arabic. In response to a strong demand for religious instruction in the publicly managed schools, the Government of India announced in 1921 that they had no objection to it. What can be done to overcome the present defects?

1. *Through a study of home geography co-ordinate the children's experiences outside of school with those inside*, so that they will not counteract, but reinforce, the school lessons. The Punjab educational authorities have decided that, 'In the primary school the subject matter taught and the methods of instruction should be such as to bring the work of a primary school into the closest relation with the life and experience of the people.' Here follow a few suggestive activities which might help to do this: building a house of

village materials and studying why and how houses are built and improved; appropriately celebrating holidays or religious festivals, sending greetings, making gifts for others; studying the village, and its traditions of mutual helpfulness, its handicrafts; entertaining the parents with short dramas or dialogues, sending invitations;¹ learning and studying work-songs to sing in the fields or pastures, like those developed in Bishop Azariah's excellent school at Dornakal;² taking regular excursions to neighbouring points to observe carefully industrial arts, unusual or historic sights and the life of man.³ The teacher, so far as time allows, should visit the children when they are engaged in activities beyond the school walls, so as to link these with the school lessons.

2. *Use social responsibility to develop the children's character.* The duty of producing concrete results may be laid on them instead of letting them talk irresponsibly. The best form of responsibility will differ with the school, the child and the occasion, but the presence of it is essential to character. 'As in the class room, so in the outside activities, responsibility is placed upon the boys. Each must contribute his share to the common good. The life is kept as simple as possible and close to village conditions. The boys do their own cooking, washing and mending. They care for the cattle and keep the grounds in order.'⁴

3. *Develop the children in habits of co-operation and mutual helpfulness in school*, by emphasizing cordial community life in the school all the time, for this is more valuable than ethical instruction at certain periods. 'The school itself should constitute a community. This is done not by mere physical proximity on the part of the pupils, but by sharing in common ends and so awakening the interest of each, that individual activity is regulated by these common ends.'⁵ Instruction

¹ Van Doren, *Projects in Indian Education*, V, outlines an entertainment project actually executed by children in classes I to IV.

² Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, p. 57.

³ *Projects in Indian Education*, VI to XI give a number of enterprises in community life.

⁴ Moga, *Occasional Report*, No. 14, p. 66.

⁵ *Village Education in India*, p. 75. For student self-government see chapters II and V in *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education*.

about morals may not make children moral and may even make them less moral. But well-guided social life in the school, with many shared interests, does help to make the children more truly moral and to develop common standards of action that are more effective than any arbitrarily imposed rules can ever be. It is specially valuable to have boys and girls working together in comradeship and mutual respect. The school is immediately concerned with seeing that service and co-operation are being practised within its walls. It is also important to give the children practical experience in improving their village and in helping in emergencies. An educational inspector in the Punjab reported (1929): 'Boy Scouts and members of the Red Cross Society in various schools did valuable service during the floods in rescuing drowning persons and in saving the property of unfortunate victims. They patrolled the river bank for two days, saved the lives of many cattle, fed them at their own cost and returned them to the owners. They distributed food to the starving villagers and helped many people in rebuilding their huts.'¹

4. *Build up the children's loyalty to the best of India's heritage* by teaching in story form the facts about her great characters, masterly epics and dramas. The children should be helped to a sympathetic understanding of the past coupled with the ability to raise questions and form judgements. Some valuable elements from India's history are: lofty religious aspiration, profound philosophic systems, scientific and mathematical discoveries, respect for the aged and learned, intimate personal relationship between teacher and pupil, and emphasis on tolerance, gentleness and family solidarity. Pictures may be shown of famous and beautiful places. Children should come to respect whatever is best and highest, no matter from what its origin and to see the close interrelations between people in different places and occupations. The spirit of true religion unites rather than divides. Essentially democracy is shared living and thinking. The best way of understanding it is to practise it in school.

¹ For discussions of social service in India, see *Village Education in India*, p. 79; D. J. Fleming's *Schools with a Message in India*, IX and p. 170, and his *Social Study, Service and Exhibits*.

F. WHAT EXERCISES FACILITATE VERBAL COMMUNICATION?

Most village children are brought up in an atmosphere dominated by illiteracy. Few are the incentives in village and home life for acquiring and retaining literacy, because little call for this ability is made by the usual village occupations, when they are carried on in the ignorant, inefficient, custom-dictated way at present so common. Nevertheless, the call for literacy is gradually tending to become more insistent, because written communication is daily growing more familiar, some villagers are migrating to work in industrial centres, and the franchise has been extended to millions of men and women in the rural areas. Without literacy there can be no really progressive village life, for illiteracy cuts people off from all that they do not hear with their ears, and keeps them from writing friendly or business letters.

This shows the great importance of the primary schools' third aim: to assist each pupil to have facile oral and written communication with others. Even without assistance from the home, large numbers of village schools do much to reach this aim, even though they may fail in all the others. Reading, writing and arithmetic, in their most formal phases, compose almost the whole present curriculum of the village primary school. Much time is wasted on the reiteration of material already learned. Other subjects are slighted unless they are required by the regulations and the inspecting staff.

The medium of instruction is either the vernacular of the pupils, the prevailing vernacular of the area, or sometimes a difficult literary language connected with one of the vernaculars. The alphabets are extremely difficult, most of them containing from 200 to 600 sound combinations. Reading is generally very inefficiently taught. 'There can be no doubt that the early stages of learning to read take up a wholly disproportionate amount of the short time at a child's disposal during his school life, and the noisy reiteration of meaningless vocables hypnotizes the children into a respectable stupidity.'¹ In many villages there are only one or two reading books for the whole school; and in few village schools are there sufficient to go around. Even those that do

¹ Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p. 49.

exist have serious faults that render them unsuited for rural use, since the authors have little intimate knowledge either of pupils' abilities or of rural conditions. In the Punjab the 'introduction of a better type reading book has resulted in creating a taste for independent reading which is a surer guarantee of permanent literacy than anything else.'¹

In the attempt to learn to write, the youngest children may chant a series of letters for an hour in succession, the leader meanwhile making the corresponding letters in the sand, but the other children may not see the connection between the symbol and the sound. The emphasis is likely to be on writing that looks well rather than on writing to make the meaning clear. What remedies can be used?

1. *From the beginning, give the pupils frequent chances to express themselves in speech rather than trying to keep them silent* They should be encouraged to ask questions, tell useful stories and express connected ideas, instead of giving short, choppy answers conveying a minimum of thought. Sometimes whole periods could be devoted to stories told by children. Before the pupils are taught anything about reading, they should have a useful oral vocabulary.

2. *Cultivate an abiding interest in reading by having the children read material that is interesting and useful to them.* To be of value, reading must lead to understanding and thinking, not just to making sounds. Since it is a process of receiving ideas, silent reading for comprehension, rather than loud reading, should be constantly stressed. A pressing need exists for more school books written simply, instead of in a stilted, highly literary style. The primer should contain matter on familiar topics, good literature and telling illustrations.² The later books may well give broader contacts with the lives of people in other parts of India and the world. Pupils should also be taught to read useful material, especially personal letters, village leases, records, and contracts, leaflets about better agriculture and the improvement of the home, stories that give a broader outlook, and monthly journals. For the followers of each faith, suitable religious books may be used. Children fare better by growing accustomed to read plenty of simple, usable material like

¹ *Punjab*, 1927-32, p. 58.

² For the beginnings of reading, see appendix A.

this, than by spending the brief school years over a few very difficult books.

3. *Teach reading by having it used as a tool to carry on some vital activity in the class.* Reading is a tool for learning meanings. The desire to read should be encouraged at the start and all the way along. By the use of the story method at Moga to teach beginning reading, all but one of the pupils in class I completed the prescribed work in one year, and more than half of them finished two years' work in one and entered class III.¹ Three-quarters of the mission schools near Moga use the story method. Children should be led to appreciate the meaning and value of good literature, by means of: (a) The reading aloud of the most suitable literature in the earliest grades, covering a wide range of stories, travel accounts, and natural wonders. The children will thus have their imagination aroused, and can then be asked to give the story of what was read in their own words. (b) The silent reading of simple books, and reporting on them to the class or the whole school (c) The stimulation of children to dramatize simple scenes connected with the school work. If anything that is acted by the children is specially well done or worth detailed attention, it can be carefully practised and shown to the admiring parents. Gilbert Slater suggests that dramatic representations are a better method of giving an appreciation of vernacular literature than is verbal skill. (d) The gathering by the children of Indian legends, folk tales, and proverbs from their parents, and their reporting on them, with competitions to see which classes or pupils can find the best ones. (e) The singing of simple lyrics and songs that they can use in their play and work. Action songs to express continued ideas also have immense possibilities.

4. *Give the pupils a broader range of practice in writing, especially their own ideas,* rather than in copying sentences from a textbook. They should learn to write incidents or stories, personal letters of thanks, asking for information or help, invitations and also business letters and forms. Since writing is a vehicle of thought, intelligibility is the first requisite. The use of writing in the course of the children's various activities will be made habitual to them. Drill in

¹ *Occasional Report, No. 14, p. 66.*

spelling may well be limited to words commonly written, specially to those easily mis-spelled. Writing and spelling will be used by the children during their ordinary activities and will be taught by more vital methods than at present, such as by the use of projects and games.

G. WHAT ACTIVITIES GIVE HEALTH AND RECREATION?

Schools should foster sound minds in sound bodies. From health comes energy; from disease, apathy and laziness. The shocking state of rural health has been described in chapter II. Like their parents, many children suffer from enervating diseases and are often struck down by the cold hand of death. How far do village schools measure up to what should be their aim, of helping every boy and girl to develop sound health? Are the children acquiring the habits and knowledge necessary to overcome disease and attain vitality? Do they have sound, well-controlled bodies, growing in weight? Do they feel a personal responsibility for improving school and village sanitation and for taking measures against disease? It must be admitted that most schools do very little to bring their pupils to better health; in some schools infection spreads from child to child, for example, colds and sore eyes. The primary girls of Bombay 'are spending long hours in stuffy, over-crowded rooms. Scientific physical training is necessary as a corrective. Very many of the children are poorly developed and are suffering from the results of malaria and other diseases or from underfeeding. Mental energy and alertness cannot be produced from sluggish and unhealthy bodies.'¹ Hygiene in Bengal is said to be learned by rote in unhygienic surroundings without reference to its practical applications.²

Varied recreation is just as necessary as instruction in the ordinary school subjects. Children's play is the foundation of all their later learning. To what extent do village schools assist the pupils to enjoy wholesome recreation in suitable games, folk-dances and drills? Do they help the children to a wise use of leisure time in the interest of refreshment and culture? Do they lead them to appreciate good music, art and

¹ *Bombay*, 1927-32, p. 169.

² *Bengal*, 1927-32.

drama and to avoid what is poor and debasing? Most rural children have little or no variety in their play and recreation, either inside or outside the school, for they are early forced to shoulder adult burdens. There are plenty of splendid Indian games, but in many villages the children have never been shown how to play them. Folk-dances are often neglected. The villager is idle during many months of the year. Marriages and funerals bring them together and give them something to think about. But the children are never taught to use leisure time for refreshment and culture, nor led into wholesome activities. They have never learned to appreciate artistic efforts, even the simplest forms that are found in villages. They prefer gaudy pictures and vulgar dramas. What then is to be done?

1. *Work for the physical health and growth of the children by implanting in them good health habits.* The rules suggested for India by Dr Arthur Lankester, after long study of conditions, show the kind of habits most urgently needed: 'Keep your house clean, light and airy, keep its surroundings free from dirt and standing water, avoid spitting indoors, sleep with open windows and uncovered face, keep your body clean and your mind pure, take regular exercise for the development of your muscles and lungs, carefully preserve your food and drink from contamination.' It is necessary for children to have wholesome and varied food with enough vitamins and minerals. I visited a school in a hamlet for 'Untouchables' where the children had a committee to see that all came to school clean. They had collected a few coppers to buy a mirror and combs, and separate pots for washing water and drinking water. These they placed in the school, and used daily. They washed their clothes every week at the river. On Saturdays they cleaned the hamlet streets. Thus they learned cleanliness in action and taught it to their parents.¹ The boys in the sixth class at Moga visited the hospital, started a dispensary for the school boys under the guidance of the teacher and studied common diseases and drugs. Their other health projects concerned houses, clothes, flies

¹ Bommasamudram, Chittoor District. 'Our Daily Bread,' chapter IV of *Projects In Indian Education*, shows how domestic science became a part of life.

and mosquitoes.¹ School health clubs have been found to be of striking value in America. Their effect is illustrated by the following percentages of 6,000 children in a Virginia country who followed these habits, before the health clubs were started and afterward: brushing teeth twice a day, 25 to 72; doing without tea and coffee, 33 to 75; cleaning finger nails, 34 to 72; sleeping with open windows, 55 to 97; brushing and combing hair, 75 to 98. Where at all possible, schools should send their pupils to a doctor for medical examination and treatment. Girls' health needs special attention because they often have weak physiques and are forced to bear children while still young. In a few schools of some provinces they are specially instructed in cooking, household management and health. Education about family life and the constructive functions of sex have a normal part in character development and should be started in early childhood by competent persons, at first on the basis of plant and animal reproduction and then be graded in advance of the need for applying the knowledge.

2. *Lead the children to improve the sanitary conditions of their school, homes and village, and to feel responsible for their improvement.* The prevalence of rural disease is largely due to the unspeakably filthy village sites and neighbouring fields. The children can build and study a model house to know how to improve the light, air and cleanliness in their own homes.² The older ones can help dig pit latrines and shallow pits for storing manure and refuse until they are put on the fields.³ Bore-hole latrines are extremely valuable.

3. *Have the school arrange demonstrations and dramas to rouse the villagers to co-operate in public health measures, such as taking vaccination and inoculation and killing rats.* Over 38 thousand teachers and pupils were inoculated against plague through the agency of the Punjab educational staff in 1925. All the teachers and boys of the Government High School at Kasur were inoculated and all the buildings disinfected, with the result that none of them died, though

¹ Chapter XI of *Projects in Indian Education* describes a project in first-aid.

² For a sample house project, see chapter III of *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education*.

³ See chapter VI below.

many boys were living in houses where deaths occurred. Branches of the Junior Red Cross (192,000 members), Boy Scouts (189,000) and Girl Guides (29,000) might well extend their excellent work to more village schools.

4 *Teach the children recreational games and folk-dances.*

Play is far from being a waste of time, as it is commonly regarded. Indian village children need to learn a variety of good games requiring little or no equipment, especially indigenous games. In the Philippine Islands, the pupils of all grades are required to participate in organized games and athletics for at least half an hour every day. The most suitable kinds of games are those that are based on normal play interests, and that develop such interests, are adapted to exercise the mind and body, and can be played at home or in the fields as well as in school. The physical training supervisors of the Punjab have organized new games and physical activities in village schools together with games clubs for the villagers. The Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education in Madras offers excellent training. Some possible recreational projects might deal with excursions, the use of holidays, programmes for the parents, or with toys, dolls, marbles or kites. Recreation often does more for character and culture than work does. Bobbitt says, 'Mental play is nature's active method for filling the mind with information.' Children should be shown the difference between good and bad music, drama, and art.

H. WHAT ENTERPRISES DEVELOP PRACTICAL ABILITY?

Do the schools foster skill in number and space work useful to the villager? Some arithmetical knowledge is imparted, but by mechanical methods, removed from life. The numbers from 1 to 100 are commonly taught first and then the multiplication table, which not only extends up to 16 or 20, but also down to halves and quarters. Children in the second year of the Bombay schools are required to know multiplication tables up to 30 times 10. Addition and subtraction come at the same time as the multiplication tables. Far too much attention is given to memorization, the shouting of tables and mechanical drill, and too little to division. Accuracy in measurement suffers from the utterly confused measures of quantity, which vary with the locality

and the thing measured. Much valuable time is often wasted in the daily repetition of a lifeless routine, and by the teachers themselves correcting all the work.

Does primary education lead the children to appreciate and love their natural environment? The teaching about things and people within and beyond the village is very limited and uninspiring. Nature-study and observation, as commonly taught, have little to do with either nature or observation, consisting mostly of dull memorization of disconnected terms. Subjects that might be most helpful if rightly conceived and taught, have become mere passive preparation for later existence.

Do schools promote skill in using simple tools, methods? Do they develop the children's individual aptitudes? Most education is literary and theoretical rather than practical, abstract rather than concrete. The large majority of Indians have considered schooling largely as preparation for persons destined to enter the reputedly respectable professions, and as something obviating the necessity for manual labour. Consequently people not hoping for a professional career neither desire education nor are expected by others to have more than narrowly vocational training to make them better farm coolies or mill 'hands'. On the other hand, so called 'educated' persons on their way to a profession despise as beneath them nearly all manual and physical effort. The educational departments have often tried to encourage school handwork, like clay-modelling and rope-making, but these efforts have not generally succeeded very well, because the children have little interest or respect for such work as it is now presented. It is generally even worse taught than the literary subjects. School gardens have not always proved a great success, because of difficulties such as lack of water, of good soil or of space, trouble in keeping out animals when there are no fences, the hard work of tending the garden the whole year, and the teacher's hesitation to do his share of the manual work.

Extremely little is done in the schools to inculcate prudence, thrift, self-help, and co-operation, so that the children will be able to purchase and use things wisely and protect themselves from the various kinds of exploitation that are sure to assail them.

Why not take these next steps?

1. *Impart only the amount and kind of concrete arithmetic that is being or will be used by the children in their daily lives*, such as the simple numerical processes connected with buying, selling, making change, figuring interest, keeping simple accounts, and the other transactions common to the village. This will help protect them in bazaar debts, tax transactions and journeys. The computations should be useful and the problems genuine. Little time need be wasted on constant oral repetition. Arithmetic games and projects are a great help in teaching. Harper contrasts the pupils running a project shop with those at an ordinary school where their main 'aim is to please the teacher, and six to nine times right, out of ten, pleases the teacher. But at Moga he quickly learns that if only eight out of ten transactions were correct, the class shop would go bankrupt. So the boys set cent per cent accuracy as their own standard. They know the value of the arithmetic fact. Arithmetic to Moga boys is a real part of their life.'¹

2. *Promote the study of the natural environment* through observation, excursions, reading, reasoning on the information that has been gained and experimenting with principles that have been formulated. The village child can thus be led to become 'an observer, a thinker and an experimentalist, even on a humble scale,' as Sir Henry Sharp advocated. Observation is to be directed not to second rate pictures or drawings but to the habits, peculiarities, and life cycles of the animals and insects, in their natural surroundings; to various plants and trees; and to climatic factors like heat, light, water and their effects on plants, animals and men. By means of the right kind of observation and study of nature, the rural child can gain two great benefits; a better understanding of the workings of natural forces and a livelier appreciation of the beauties and wonders on every side.²

3. *Teach the children broadening ideas about industrial arts and provide for practice in the simpler processes.* The purpose is to give an intelligent understanding of how men meet their needs through agriculture, pasturage and various handicrafts.

¹ Bureau of Education, *Occasional Reports*, No. 14, p. 61.

² See Fleming's *Schools with a Message in India*, VIII and pp. 171-73.

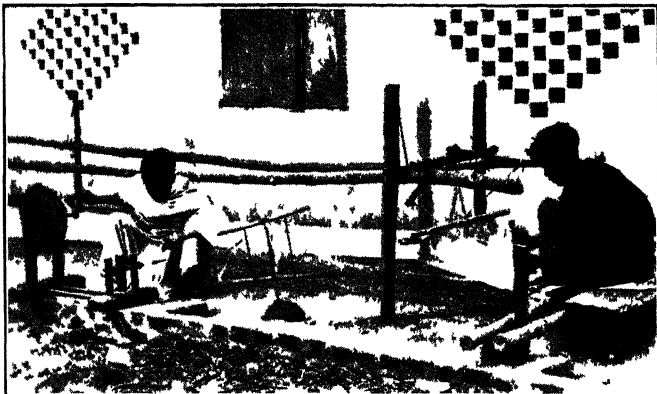
The children are taught to make things mainly to clarify their ideas, rather than to give narrow vocational training, since for this the pupils are too young and weak, and because most industrial methods can be better learned in contact with actual processes. The study of industrial arts is best organized around food, clothing, shelter, tools, utensils, transportation, and records, or else around the ways of life of some special group.¹ A few illustrative projects are: wheat, rice, cotton (its production, ginning, spinning, weaving), silk, wood, plant fibres, tiles, pottery, ploughs, postal system, travel, and trade. Through industrial arts, children may be taught to appreciate India's rich artistic heritage, being shown some of the beautiful designs.

4. *Have the children maintain school and home gardens* wherever possible, to show the pleasure and dignity of manual labour and to furnish opportunity for the daily observation of plants and the keeping of garden diaries. School gardens in the Allahabad district have been successfully used as agencies for introducing improved varieties and new crops. Out of 781,000 Filipino primary pupils in 1929, 127,000 studied gardening and raised Rs. 321,000 worth of products; 114,000 had home gardens and produced crops worth Rs. 246,000. The teacher can encourage his pupils in keeping home gardens and set them an example, as is done in Denmark.² Good trees and shrubs can be planted. The gardens may lead the pupils on to study soils, crops, agriculture, land ownership and tenancy

5. *Organize the adolescent boys and girls of a village into groups for definite purposes*, such as raising poultry, kids, lambs or calves, or for growing silk worms. Use should be made of the strongly gregarious tendencies of children at this stage. Such clubs have proved of enormous value in the United States. In Wisconsin alone 21,000 young people belong to '4-H Clubs' working for the development of Head, Hand, Heart and Health. In the same State, the boys and girls raised products worth a million and a half rupees. The Philippine Islands reported two thousand boys' and girls' agricultural

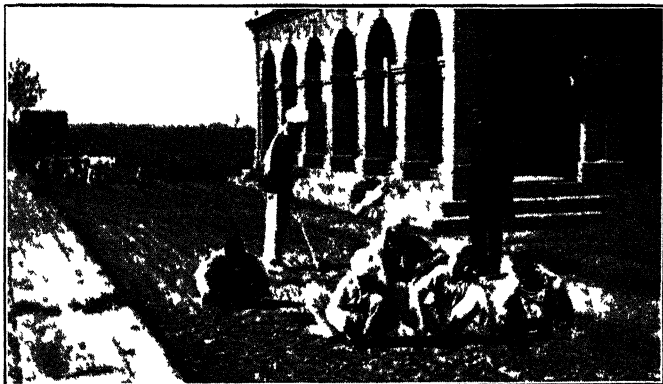
¹ For projects in handicrafts, see *Projects in Indian Education*, XII to XVII.

² See *Notes on Garden Work in a Village Primary School*, Bureau of Education, pamphlet 24.



LEARNING USEFUL HANDICRAFTS

Spinning and weaving form an important part of the practical training given by Rabindranath Tagore in his pioneer rural enterprise at Bolpur, where Bengalis and Santals have learned to co-operate for social progress.



BOYS GARDENING AT MOGA

Nature study and observation, combined with the raising of garden and field crops can be made truly and broadly educative. The dignity of manual labour can better be taught by example than precept.

clubs in 1929 with thirty thousand members working on their special projects, such as gardening, cooking and poultry (with 232 thousand fowl). The value of the products reached Rs. 400,000. In all cases, a brief and accurate record of what is done and an account of all money received and spent adds greatly to the educational value.

6. *Encourage the pupil in habits of prudence, thrift, self-help and co-operation in preventing injustice.* The urgent need for such habits is shown in the first chapter. Sir Henry Sharp wrote of the villager, 'Generations of oppression and lawlessness have rendered him callous and improvident. Now the British rule has established a condition of life in which the caprice of fortune is reduced to a minimum, in which ruin awaits the improvident, and existence in order to be blessed, must be guided by self-denial, thrift and prudence. The hand of justice has given a great opportunity to the money-lender.'¹ The children may have small accounts in a postal savings bank, conduct a co-operative society or a shop, like that at Moga to sell the vegetables the pupils have raised.² The principles concerning self-help at Moga include. having all the boys from the lowest primary to the normal class receive only the actual value of their work, handle actual money, pay toward their school expenses, and keep exact account of their financial standing; the school gives no pocket money and allows none to be received from outside sources.³ Children should be taught the meaning of the village map and of land records and the need of receipts, to prevent their being wronged by unscrupulous men. Co-operative societies, managed in part by the boys, have been started in many Punjab schools. The one in the Government High School at Kasur annually saves the school Rs. 2,000. That at Kamalia had 507 members and a turn-over of Rs. 4,200 in ten months. The United States in 1927 had nearly four million pupils participating in school savings systems, the value of their deposit totaling 70 million rupees, and character-building being stressed as the main objective.⁴

¹ *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*, p. 134.

² Bureau of Education, *Occasional Reports*, No 14, p 68.

³ See also 'Little Shopkeepers' and 'An Experiment in Trade' in *Projects in Indian Education*.

⁴ *New International Year Book*, 1927, p 265.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE SCHOOLS NEED OVERHAULING

A. How do Rural Schools Fit into the Educational System? B. In What Ways can School Enrolment and Attendance be Increased? C. How can Pupils be Retained in School and Promoted? D. How may Schools be Better Housed and Equipped? E. How can Primary Schools be Centralized and Expanded? F. How can More Adequate Funds be Secured?

A. HOW DO RURAL SCHOOLS FIT INTO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM?

VILLAGE education must be considered as an essential and worthy part of the general system, not as something separate or unimportant. Some outstanding features of Indian education may here be briefly mentioned.

The various provinces diverge widely from each other in their school systems, which are under the general oversight of ministers representing the elected majority in the Legislative Councils. These Councils can, through resolutions and budget votes, help to shape educational policy, but they have great difficulty in finding the necessary funds. Education has been most adversely affected by the serious financial stringency of the provinces. It is also unfortunate that the field of education in every province has been so divided among different Ministers as to impede unity of action. In Madras, for example, the Registrar General of Panchayats is responsible for 1,300 primary schools, the Labour Department for 1,000 and the Jail, Fisheries, Police, Salt and Forest Departments, for still other primary schools. These Departments are under different ministries. The Director of Public Instruction is the administrative head of the Educational Department and adviser to the Minister for Education, who

has various duties to carry on beside education, such as excise.

Giving the provinces full control of education in 1921 has promoted initiative, experiment and quicker responsiveness to local opinion. However, it has lessened the exchange of useful ideas and co-operation of effort between different parts of India. 'The Central Advisory Board had been abolished in 1923 as a means of retrenchment, though the money saved was insignificant in comparison with the large amounts squandered through the lack of guidance and of suitably devised programmes of development.'¹ It was revived in 1935 with the Educational Minister or Director from each province and also some non-officials. It advises the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, one of whose important functions is to prepare reports on education.

Schools in India are of two kinds, recognized and unrecognized. Those without Government recognition usually teach religious texts, the instruction being in Sanskrit, Arabic or some other classical language, the meaning of which is little understood by the pupils. These unrecognized schools are never inspected, are usually unimportant and are declining in strength.

The recognized institutions follow the approved courses of study, are open to inspection, have to maintain a reasonable standard of efficiency, and usually receive grants-in-aid. All such schools are as much a regular part of the public educational system of India as are the publicly managed schools. Sir Charles Wood, realizing that the burden of education was tremendous, in his famous Despatch of 1854 asked private bodies to share in the responsibility and promised them grants-in-aid. This useful form of co-operation has continued in force to the present day. It has stimulated valuable contributions to education from private funds and has provided for freedom of religious teaching. The system as a whole has been of great service in extending education, though the standards set up have sometimes been so low as to allow the starting and continuance of inefficient schools, including ephemeral schools run by

¹ *India*, 1927-32, I, p. 34.

teacher-managers. The grants-in-aid and departmental rules have helped to maintain minimum standards, but in some cases they have also tended to hamper progress beyond such minimum standards, especially when the inspection has been done by poorly qualified subordinates. A serious defect and injustice is that the same bodies both run schools and also distribute grants to their own and others' schools

Publicly run schools include those managed directly by provincial educational departments, district and taluk boards and municipalities. In 1934, the number of primary schools in rural areas under the various forms of management was:

	BOYS' SCHOOLS	GIRLS' SCHOOLS	TOTAL
Government ...	1,989	218	2,207
District Board ...	58,918	6,568	65,486
Private Management	94,150	22,667	116,817
	<u>155,057</u>	<u>29,453</u>	<u>184,510</u>

Five out of eight of these village schools are privately managed. Publicly managed schools are growing rapidly because of larger funds and also because they may be of better quality than some schools under private management, especially those run by the teachers themselves. Boys' and girls' schools are separate, but 950 thousand girls study in boys' schools, and thousands of boys study in girls' schools.

The large majority of rural children never go beyond the first two or three classes of the primary school in their village and therefore never become literate. Some of the higher caste and richer families send their children from the beginning to the primary stage of secondary schools, while some enter their boys in secondary schools only after they have passed through the village school. Few of the rural children who undergo secondary or higher education in the towns return to the hard living conditions of the village, except under stern compulsion.

The vernacular course extends for eight years in all major provinces, except Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Central Provinces, where it is seven years. The first four or five years of this course are here called the primary (vernacular) stage, and the last two or three years the middle (vernacular) stage, in spite of the fact that the whole eight years of the

vernacular course are termed primary in Bombay and elementary in Madras. The English course parallels the vernacular from the beginning in Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces and North West Frontier, but not in other provinces. The provinces have different rules for admitting vernacular pupils into the English course; but in most cases they must repeat from one to four years of work. English is usually badly learned at the beginning and imperfectly mastered by the end of the course. The number and popularity of middle vernacular schools have grown in the Punjab and languished in Bengal, so that now the Punjab has one hundred times as many pupils in such schools. The Bengal Government propose that there be one of these schools for every police station.

Secondary education, which is predominantly literary, is not so far behind European countries in numbers as is primary education. India's proportion of men college students to the literate population is surprisingly high. The Calcutta University Commission stated that in Bengal the proportion of the literate classes taking full-time university courses was almost ten times that in England.

Secondary and higher education tend to emphasize scholastic drill, memorization of dictated notes and theories more useful in examinations than in life. The overwhelming majority of students take entirely literary courses that train for nothing except administrative, clerical, teaching and legal careers. Such men have flooded the market, and consequently receive utterly meagre salaries. Because at the same time their expectations have been greatly increased by education, they have helped to form a disappointed 'intellectual proletariat.' The Travancore Unemployment Enquiry Commission estimated for that State alone that 2,480 people leave school and college every year for whom there is no opening. Multiply that about fifty times and you get a picture of educated India. There has been considerable demand for vocational schools at the middle and secondary stages, so that students can be trained to take a skilful part in any industrial developments. Almost no men with higher education stay in close contact with village life, as many such men do in Britain by entering medicine or the ministry of the church or by becoming cultivating landholders.

This table shows the total number of students in the various stages of education:

	1927 (THOUSANDS)	1932 (THOUSANDS)	PER CENT OF TOTAL
Colleges ...	88	98	0·8
Secondary Schools ...	278	314	2·4
Middle Schools ...	714	907	7·1
Primary Schools ..	9,120	10,532	82·6
Special Schools ...	329	271	2·1
Unrecognized Schools	628	644	5·0
Total ...	11,157	12,766	100·0

The largest percentage gain in five years was made by the middle schools (including a big increase in the Punjab), the second largest by primary schools.

One of the main troubles is that examinations, which are uniform for all the institutions of a province, dominate the whole system from the primary stage through the university. The system subordinates teaching to tests, instead of tests to teaching. Uniform examinations are held at the end of the middle stage in all provinces and biennially before that in some. In recent years, several experiments have been made with vernacular tests of intelligence and knowledge of school subjects.

Another difficulty is that education has been fairly rigidly stereotyped by the weight of custom and by the authorities' dislike of great changes. What makes this more serious is the fact that the Indian system was largely built on British models of a generation ago. Those insisting most on conformity to type are the lowest grade of inspectors. Heads of departments sometimes allow freedom of experiment to well-established institutions, though even more of this should be done. There has been entirely too little adaptation to Indian conditions. Rarely are the village schools rural in tone, or the teachers and inspectors rural-minded.

Sir George Anderson writes: 'Great and far-reaching schemes of political advancement are in the making. The educational systems of India need to be recast and adjusted to the requirements of new conditions.'¹ Long speeches are made about such changes; when and where will action begin?

¹ *India*, 1927-32, I, p. 6.

1. *Start many rural community middle schools* that will awaken in the pupils a compelling interest in their own villages, give them practice in social service, familiarize them with agriculture and village handicrafts, and mentally stimulate them. Instruction will be in the vernacular. Such schools will ordinarily send their boys and girls not to secondary study, but into work or to teacher-training and vocational institutions. These middle schools can perform a valuable service by building up strong rural leaders, eager to cast in their lot with the village. Moga has succeeded in getting its old boys back into the village with an enthusiasm to spend themselves in the service of their people.¹

2. *At strategic centres have specialized vocational-training institutions* on the middle and secondary levels, with much emphasis on actual practice, skill and improved methods applicable to the villages, so as to turn out men who can demonstrate practical success in agriculture and village industry. India needs youths of brain who find joy in doing hard muscular work by the best methods.

3. *Limit the uniform examinations to the end of the middle and secondary stages and conduct them only in those subjects which can be so tested*, especially those requiring definite facts and skill. The merit of expressional activities can never be adequately gauged by examinations, for purpose and joy are the main factors. The beginnings of culture are killed by dissection and analysis. Tests in many subjects need to be carefully worked out in the vernaculars and standardized, with several alternative forms so that the children cannot be coached up on all of them. By the use of new kinds of tests, examinations can be made more objective and reliable.

4. *Allow progressive institutions greater freedom to experiment and make scientific investigations* regarding the curriculum, methods and products of education. At these centres a new spirit of enquiry can be engendered and educational conferences held. Training colleges could do far more constructive research than at present. The valuable experiments at Moga have blazed new trails that have been followed by Government institutions in the Punjab and by

¹ For various good examples of community middle schools, read Miss Van Doren's *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education*.

Christian schools throughout India. *Reports of such work should be published and made widely available*, since much of the excellent work now being accomplished is little known. Persons engaged in village and training schools need new suggestions and fresh visions of the possibilities of their work. They need more ideas to enlarge their horizons and fewer orders to circumscribe their action. The pooling of experience will benefit all.¹ More conferences on education, bringing together people from various kinds of schools, may well be organized, for they will greatly help in co-ordinating educational effort.

B. IN WHAT WAYS CAN SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE BE INCREASED?

British India has 272 million people, but only 13 million in schools of every kind and grade. Of the male population 7·33 per cent, of the female 1·89 per cent, and of the total population 4·70 are in school. This figure may be contrasted with recent percentages in other countries: Canada and United States, 24; Britain and Japan, 19; France, 15; Philippines, 10.

Of British India's people 38 million, or 14 per cent, are between 6 and 11 years and should be in primary school, instead of the present 9 million. Even assuming a stationary population, it would take nearly a century for 14 per cent to be enrolled at the present rate of about 300,000 new primary pupils a year. This table shows the number of British Indian children of various ages in school and their total number:

		IN SCHOOL (THOUSANDS)	TOTAL (THOUSANDS)	PER CENT IN SCHOOL
5—10 years ...	..	7,635	35,421	21·3
10—15 years ..	..	3,329	31,618	10·5

The percentage of the male population in school for British India is 6·0 and for the main provinces is:

Madras ...	... 8·1	Assam ...	... 5·6
Bombay ..	. 7·1	Bihar and Orissa ...	... 4·5
Bengal ...	... 7·0	United Provinces ..	... 4·4
Punjab ..	... 6·3	Central Provinces ...	... 4·3

¹ The *Occasional Bulletins* of the Bureau of Education, Government of India; the books of the *Education of India Series*, published by the Y M C A Press, Calcutta; and the periodicals, *Moga Teachers' Journal* and *Christian Education*, should all be more broadly read

In 1931 Baroda had 14.1 per cent of its male and 8.8 per cent of its female population in schools. It may be noted that these figures include boys of all ages, not only those of school-going age (6 to 11 years). For this reason it is a misleading mistake to divide these figures by 14 per cent of the population and think that we have the per cent of school-age boys who are in school. The districts of each province vary widely in the per cent at school. For example, in Madras in 1925, Malabar District had 37 per cent of the children of school-going age enrolled in school, whereas Salem had only 12 per cent.

The situation regarding the enrolment of girls is specially serious, for the girls will become the mothers of the race and control the upbringing of their children for good or ill. It is a joy to find that in the Punjab and Madras the enrolment of girls has increased more than that of boys during the last five years. Of the female population in 1932, 1.47 per cent were in primary schools, which is a substantial improvement over 1.07 for 1919 and 1.18 for 1923. But at this rate of increase, it will take four centuries until 14 per cent of the female population are in primary schools.

The Zoroastrian girls are all enrolled in school. Taking them as a standard at 100 per cent, the per cents of girls from other religions are Christian, 54; Brahman Hindus, 18; Muslims, 7; and non-Brahman Hindus, 5. These wide variations show that the obstacles to the education of girls are largely social and religious; early marriage; early passing behind the pardah, especially among the Muslims; dominance of the conservative elder women, who oppose the education of girls and insist on their help in the household; unwillingness of the fathers to spend much money on the schooling of daughters who are soon to leave home. The *Bengal Review of Education* (1927-32, page 66) gives an encouraging view of recent changes. 'Instead of being hostile, men are now generally friendly to the education of their women folk; pardah is slowly disappearing; the age of marriage has been raised by the Sarda Act; women are being gradually relieved from the bondage of social fetters and are coming to be recognized as partners in the home and commonwealth.'

In 1902 the per cent of girls under instruction reading in boys' schools was 44.7, but in 1934 it was only 39.9, the

highest figures being Madras, 51; Assam, 50; and Bihar and Orissa, 43. In primary schools only, where there is most co-education, 950 thousand out of 2,294 thousand girls are studying in boys' schools, or 41 per cent. Co-educational elementary schools with more women teachers should be steadily and widely encouraged, for India is far too poor for segregate schools.

The per cent of the Muslim school boys to the male population has risen from 3.3 in 1922 to 5.2 in 1932, and of girls from 1.4 to 1.8. But the Muslim pupils formed 30.5 per cent of class I and only 19.4 per cent of class V.

Between 1927 and 1934 the enrolment of the Depressed Classes has risen from 807 to 1,163 thousand, but six-sevenths of these people are still uneducated. The main obstacles to their advance are: refusal by many teachers of so-called good castes to instruct them, opposition of many caste people to their being taught, the Depressed Classes' deficient tradition of education and prevalent poverty. Now many are demanding equal schooling. The difficulties that beset the Aboriginal Tribes, in addition to the above, are their shyness and dislike of organized activity, and their multifarious languages. In spite of many efforts by Governments to encourage the education of the Depressed Classes, glaring injustices are still too common, their children being refused enrolment even in publicly managed schools or forced to sit outside the windows.

The thousands of children in rural primary schools under different management are:

	IN BOYS' SCHOOLS	IN GIRLS' SCHOOLS	TOTAL
Government ...	79 6	13 0	92 6
District Board ...	3,418 9	325.1	3,744.0
Recognized ...	3,638 1	642 1	4,280.2
Total ...	7,136 6	980.2	8,116.8

Thus half the boys and nearly two-thirds of the girls are in recognized schools under private management. Such schools are not sufficiently aided or encouraged by Government agencies, being treated in step-motherly fashion.

Compulsory attendance was first tried in Baroda nearly forty years ago and it has added thousands of literates. Most British Provinces have allowed local bodies to introduce it

at their wish, but they have been unwilling to levy extra taxes. Compulsion applies only to the following villages in British India:

Punjab	...	...	..	..	6,238
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	431
United Provinces	...	...	..	..	351
Bombay	...	..	..	..	150
Madras	..	...	...	...	104
Bihar and Orissa	..	...	...	..	15
Delhi ..	...	..	...	..	14

In two Punjab districts, 90 per cent of the boys of school-going age have been enrolled. That is the only province in which compulsion has been broadly followed in rural areas, the per cent of pupils to the population having risen from 2.7 in 1921 to 6.3 in 1932. In 1925 the Punjab had 79 registered co-operative education societies, the members of which had pledged themselves to send their children to school for the full four years of the primary period or pay a fine of up to fifty rupees.

The attendance at school of enrolled pupils, would not be so unsatisfactory if the school returns were reliable and represented presence at school for whole days. The percentage of attendance in the primary schools of British India has been: (1919) 78.4, (1922) 76.1, (1927) 77.8, (1932) 79.1. The figure for village schools by themselves would fall far short of these figures, which include also town primary schools. In 794 mission primary schools, mostly in the villages, the percentage of attendance was 73.9. The per cent of attendance in the Philippine Islands was 96 in 1929.

Full-time schools are supposed to have sessions of between four and eight hours but in some villages they last only two hours, especially when the pupils are needed for field work and in schools where the teacher is visited only once or twice a year. Among 1,002 mission village schools, the hours in the school day were found to vary from 1.5 to 8, the median being 5 hours. Very commonly the teacher is on hand for the full time, while the pupils flit in and out, being present half the time or less.

Part-time schools have proved unpopular in several provinces and have been successful only in the Central Provinces where they were the normal type of education for

rural tracts. Such schools, which are often held in the early morning and late evening, allow children to continue in school and at the same time earn their livelihood and thus remain accustomed to physical labour. The curriculum usually has to be curtailed.

The number of days a year that a village school is in session is a highly variable quantity. I have been in a school which had 241 school days one year and 186 the next, with no reasonable explanation of the difference. School keeps in session for nine, ten or eleven months, broken up by an excessive number of holidays, Hindu, Muslim, Christian and so forth. Moreover, the village teacher leaves for a day or more, when he wishes to go to town on a lawsuit or other private business. The number of weeks in session of 980 mission village schools in various parts of India ranged between 30 and 50, with the median at 44. This is a high figure, inasmuch as school is held from four to six days a week, but many of these weeks are undoubtedly much broken up. School terms and vacations are often poorly adapted to the needs of cultivators' children, schools being closed, not when the pupils would find it hardest to attend them, but in a summer month when they have least work to do.

Some of the underlying difficulties are these: (a) The grinding poverty of the masses makes them unwilling to relinquish the services of their children. Many are unable to do so and still produce enough to keep the family alive. School attendance depends largely on economic conditions, the number of pupils being less in the poorer villages and less during years of scarcity. School fees have some deterrent effect where they are charged, but not so much as the loss of children's wages. (b) The villagers' conservatism has made them indifferent to schooling, the utility of which they question, sometimes with good cause. (c) The higher castes are often not only indifferent to the Depressed Classes receiving education but are actively opposed, since it lessens the unquestioning obedience they have enjoyed from them through the ages. (d) The debilitating effects of such diseases as malaria and hookworm, and the ravages of epidemics reduce school enrolment and attendance. (e) The hamlets and villages in which people live are often so isolated from each other as to render attendance difficult at schools

which are distant from where the children live, especially during summer and monsoon seasons.

To overcome these difficulties and improve conditions, these next steps may be taken:

1. *Special efforts must be made to bring more girls to school and keep them in regular attendance*, by speaking with their parents, adapting courses to their needs and increasing the utterly inadequate supply of women teachers. In small villages with few children, girls must either receive their primary education together with boys or not at all, there being neither teachers nor funds for schools divided on sex lines. Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, has stated:¹ 'India cannot afford to provide separate schools for girls in her innumerable villages. The alternative lies, therefore, between co-education, at least at the primary stage, and a widespread denial of education for girls.' He suggests that girls' schools with women teachers are usually a sounder basis for co-education than are boys' schools.

2 *Efforts to remove the obstacles blocking Depressed Classes from being well-educated need to be continued with greater determination.* Since 1903, Baroda has done excellent work in this direction and is now redoubling its efforts. Provincial Governments have passed regulations, but their enforcement is a long, difficult process, especially when inspectors dislike them or fear to encounter popular opposition. Public opinion needs to be profoundly altered. Gandhiji is leading many of his fellow Hindus to see the light and Dr. Ambedkar's renouncement of Hinduism is driving them to action.

3 *Compulsory attendance needs to be gradually extended in rural areas* wherever there are efficient trained teachers and good schools and a measure of popular support. Since the great aim of compulsion is to produce literacy, the schools which children attend should have preferably five classes, or at least four. Bengal's three-class schools accomplish next to nothing. In Madras compulsory areas, parents entering children in school are now required to keep them under instruction until literacy is attained. The provinces are in

¹ Address to the All India Educational Conference, 30th December, 1934.

duty bound to take the responsibility for making the local bodies levy school cesses and introduce compulsion, instead of leaving the option entirely to them, for they are parochial in outlook and poor in purse. The Hartog Committee estimated the additional recurring cost of compulsion in British India at 19.5 crores and reported that, even with capital expenditure, 'the total sum to be raised is not abnormally large and with a well devised programme spread over a number of years, the goal of almost universal compulsion should be within the reach of at least the wealthier provinces.'¹

4. *Children on the rolls may be encouraged to attend more regularly* by making the teaching vitally interesting, demonstrating to the parents that their children are really learning something, giving the children privileges or class banners for regular attendance, inviting officials to visit the schools and lend their influence. Strong motives must be invoked in such ways to counterbalance the children's loss of wages.

5. Where nearly all the parents are cultivators, *the school would better be closed or put on part-time during the busiest seasons* of sowing, transplanting, and harvesting. This practice, which is followed in the United Provinces and Bombay, allows the children to help their parents with the field work. At these times, the teachers may well either go into the fields with their pupils or else attend refresher courses at central points.

C. HOW CAN PUPILS BE RETAINED IN SCHOOL AND PROMOTED?

British India had these thousands of children in the five lowest classes of its rural schools (1932):

		I	II	III	IV	V
Boys	...	2,947	1,391	978	654	391
Girls	...	960	262	149	66	27

Note how appalling is the situation among girls, less than 3 per cent of them reaching class V. The unwieldy enrolment in class I is due to stagnation and also to the bad practice that village schools follow of admitting new children at any time of the year.

¹ p. 271.



A BOARD SCHOOL TAKEN UNAWARES

Only these Hindu boys and girls were present when I went without announcement. Two village officials were on hand, but not the teacher. Progress depends on teachers' honest faithfulness.



THE SAME SCHOOL DULY POSED

When I was invited back, more pupils and cleaner clothes appeared. In the six years preceding 1935 the percentage of the male population in recognized primary schools dropped from 7.49 to 7.19.

Let us take the per cent of children in class I who go on to classes II to V, first by sex and then by religion:

		II	III	IV	V
Boys	.	47	33	22	13
Girls	...	27	16	7	3
Zoroastrians	..	62	64	86	60
Sikhs	..	49	34	28	21
Hindus	...	44	32	23	14
Indian Christians	...	39	30	24	15
Muslims	..	32	21	12	8

From this we see that there are in class V about a fifth of the number of boys and a twentieth of the number of girls that there should be, taking the Zoroastrians as a standard.

If other religions had 60 per cent of the class I enrolment in class V, like the Parsees, the thousands in class V would be:

	IDEAL	ACTUAL	POSSIBLE GAIN
Sikhs ...	38.1	13.6	24.5
Hindus ...	1,860.6	439.0	1,421.6
Indian Christians	101.6	25.4	76.4
Muslims ..	966.9	122.0	844.9
Total	2,967.2	600.0	2,367.4

This would mean that nearly 3,000,000 children would be gaining permanent literacy every year, or 2,400,000 more than the present 600,000. From 1921 to 1931 British India had in class IV nearly 8 million pupils, of whom about 2 million would have been unfit for promotion. The gain in literacy would have been 6 million, if no literates had died during the ten years.

Of all the pupils below college grade 45 per cent are in class I and 76 per cent are below class IV and are not likely to acquire continuing literacy. Of the boys in class I in 1930, only 21 per cent were in class IV in 1933, and of the girls only 11 per cent. For rural schools alone the figures are worse. The average rural primary school has 43 pupils, 22 of them in class I, 9 in II, 6 in III, 4 in IV and 2 in V. Out of the 43, 37 do not become permanently literate. The average Bengal primary school has 22 children in class I, 7 in II and 5 in III, producing one literate a year.

Many primary pupils are considerably over age for their class. We may take the years 5 to 8 as normal for

class I, 6 to 9 for class II and so forth, and below that under age:

		I	II	III	IV	V
Pupils (thousands)	.	5,281	2,111	1,496	1,016	628
Per cent:						
Over age	...	27	40	46	59	45
Normal	...	70	57	51	46	49
Under age	..	2	3	3	5	6

The increasing proportions of over age pupils until class IV show the extent of retardation, not of children dropping out. The same fact is shown by the class of the median (or middle) pupil of each age. The median pupil stays in class I until he is fully 7, in II until he is 9, in III until 10, and in IV until 12 years of age. Since the average length of school life is about four years, the median child takes four years for classes I and II and then drops out.

The age groups 6 and 7 each contain over a seventh of the pupils of all ages below college grade. An average of 216,000 children of 8 years and more drop out of school every year. The Indian figures may be compared with those of other countries:

AGE	THOUSANDS IN INDIAN SCHOOLS	PER CENT OF 7 YEAR GROUP IN EACH OLDER GROUP		
		INDIA	ENGLAND	UNITED STATES
7	1,750	100	100	100
8	1,555	89	102	106
9	1,337	76	103	108
10	1,071	61	104	112
11	848	49	100	113
12	632	36	95	111
13	451	26	67	104

Large numbers of children leave school in India after they are 7, in England after 12, and in the United States after 13.

Why do so many Indian children turn their backs on education? Consider Kini's figures for the average age of elimination for different occupations in Mysore State:¹

		Boys	Girls
Non-agricultural labourers	...	9.4	8.9
Agricultural labourers	...	10.3	8.7
Artisans	...	11.8	9.9
Government servants	.	11.9	10.2
Landholders	...	13.4	10.5

¹ *Education Survey in Mysore, 1927-28*, p. 251.

The better off the parents are, the more education the children have. The primary reason for leaving school is economic pressure. Also the children are often taught badly and discouraged; neither they nor their parents see any reason for continuance. Bombay has less wastage than other provinces because it enjoys better trained and higher paid teachers.

Why are children who stay in school so badly retarded? One reason is that children go to school too young and are poorly taught. There are 138 thousand children below 5 and 1,235 thousand between 5 and 6, or over a ninth of all pupils below college grade. There are practically no kindergartens and a very small supply of trained women teachers for such children. The poorest qualified teacher is assigned to the first class. Often they are taught nothing at all except to sit motionless and speechless, and thus to 'get used to school!' Several provinces appropriately call the class, where they acquire such habits of dull apathy, the infant (that is, non-speaking) class. Nothing is expected of them either by the teacher or the parents. In Bengal two-fifths of class I children are said to be unready for school and to be there merely to keep them out of mischief at home. In other provinces a similar condition strikes those who visit schools. If the school has only one teacher, he is likely to neglect the lowest two classes as beneath his dignity. At best, these young spirits scarcely get beyond memorizing the alphabet and some arithmetic tables. They may take two or three years before they have the primer by heart and are promoted. Michael West found that it took 551 Bengal children an average of 10 months to learn their letters, 12 to learn syllables, and 18 to read with difficulty.

One of the obstacles to good teaching is the big age range in each class. This is as follows for each class in all India, omitting the ages where there are less than 10,000 pupils:

		LOWEST	MEDIAN	HIGHEST
I	..	below 5	6	14
II	...	5	8	14
III	...	6	9	15
IV	...	7	10	15
V	.	8	11	16

Other reasons for the serious retardation, that wastes so much of the children's precious time, are fully listed in the *Mysore State Report* for 1930 (page 41): 'The apathy of the parent toward education and his unwillingness to keep the children sufficiently long at school, irregular attendance of pupils, and in some remote parts, even of the teachers, abundance of single-teacher schools with children at different levels of attainment, admission at all periods of the year, unsuitability and unreality of the curriculum and artificiality of the methods, unsuitability of school hours.'

Many village schools have only one teacher for all the classes, which makes it almost impossible to give each class the attention it requires. With two teachers for four or five classes, the situation is better but still is most difficult. The higher classes being small may usually be combined.

What can we do to remedy the present disgraceful situation?

1. *Admit children under six years only if vital kindergarten activities can be arranged for them.* In other cases they would be better off playing in *crèches* or day nurseries under the care of a matron or grandmother, or even using their inborn ingenuity for games in the streets and fields.

2. *Improve instruction by getting more and better teachers and having them use their best effort.* It is essential that teachers be adequately prepared for their work (as proposed in chapter VII), well supervised (chapter IX), and placed where they can make the maximum contribution. The best trained teacher, a woman if available, should be assigned to the first one or two classes and be responsible for good results. By following the suggestions given in chapter IV. D, the teacher can arouse the children's interest and call forth their best powers. The headmaster should keep a careful record of the year that each child entered his present class and be urged to see that every one possible is promoted.

3. *Encourage the children to work for rapid progress* by showing the benefit of good work, allowing the promotion of the brightest pupils more than once a year, and letting children make a record of their progress. Such steps will also help to draw them to school more regularly.

4. *Increase the parents' desire to have their children complete the primary course*, by pointing out the great advantages of

their staying till they can become literate and more able to solve practical problems. From their children's development in school, the parents will gain in the end, even at the temporary loss of income. It can be made a matter of pride for them to keep their boys and girls in school until they have finished V class.

D. HOW MAY SCHOOLS BE BETTER HOUSED AND EQUIPPED?

In many parts of India, village schools are held under the shade of a spreading tree or on a narrow verandah. This gives plenty of light and air, but it makes it impossible to hold school in the rain or the hottest weather and makes it difficult to care for equipment. The children being in plain sight of their parents are more likely to be called away for trivial reasons.

Some new board schools, are expensively constructed according to type plans. Most provinces encourage the erection of good buildings by bearing a half to three-quarters of the cost. In the Surat district of Bombay, splendid buildings have been erected in recent years through the generosity of Sir P. Thakurdas who has met two-thirds of the total cost of over three-and-a-half lakhs, the people the other third.

But most village school buildings are still cheap, poorly built and unsuitable, being little more than low mud walls with a thatched roof. 'Many schools are so wretchedly housed in dark, dingy, ill-situated, ill-ventilated dirty mud houses that teaching work of any kind is well nigh impossible, and the health of the boys is likely to be seriously injured.'¹ Sanitary arrangements scarcely exist, and the overcrowding, flies, and impure drinking water make the building even more unhealthy. Most village schools have mud floors from which dust is easily stirred up, to the injury of eyes and lungs. In Madras, Bengal and Bombay, less than half of the schools are held in buildings of their own. In Bengal, it is very rare to find a primary school in possession of the ground upon which it stands. Garden plots, where present, are often not used to great advantage, but there has been great improvement in the Punjab and United Provinces. In the Philippine

¹ *Punjab*, 1920.

Islands, 98 per cent of the primary schools had school gardens in 1929, half of them had tree nurseries which started 254,000 useful trees in one year.

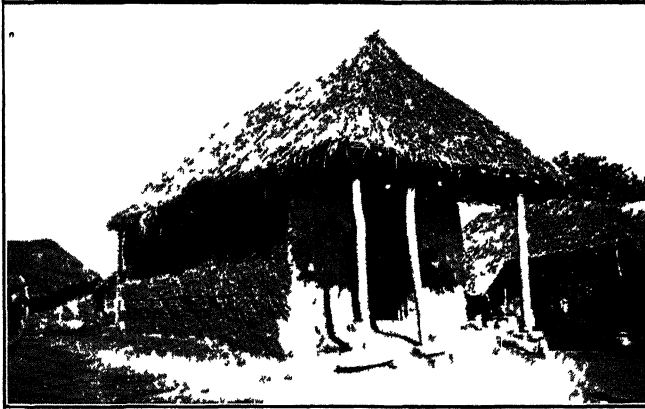
Cheaper buildings than the elaborate ones put up by the public works department, but more adequate than the poor structures so commonly found in the villages have been erected in several provinces and the situation has somewhat improved.

The equipment of some board schools may be fairly satisfactory, but that of many aided schools is most defective. Many schools have little else than mats on which the pupils sit, a teacher's chair and table, a clock, a battered blackboard, the registers, one or two unlikelike pictures, and a couple of textbooks and maps. Or they may have less. Of 117 aided and unaided schools investigated in Bengal, 25 per cent had no maps, 23 per cent no textbooks, 8 per cent no blackboards, and 8 per cent no furniture at all. The Philippine primary schools have 498,000 volumes in their school libraries for 890,000 children in the first four classes.

In the light of the above conditions, let me make the following suggestions:

1. Further encouragement by provincial grants of the *erection of healthful but inexpensive buildings*. Conducting schools in rented houses may be not only harmful but uneconomical. Simple buildings can be put up without great cost. Low walls are found useful in some areas. The local boards in the United Provinces have been providing for small village schools, buildings like those occupied by well-to-do villagers. The people should be required to help with the erection and repair. School buildings may well be more fully utilized than at present, by such means as adult night schools, public meetings and lectures. The more fully community purposes can be served, the better it is, provided the children's interests are safeguarded.

2. *More varied but simple equipment* for the various school activities, such as: construction, appreciation, problem-solving and games. Such equipment is required even more in villages than in cities, because rural school children study for longer times without the direct guidance of the teacher. The children can help to make some of the equipment from local materials without loading on them too much work. In



POOREST TYPE OF BUILDING

Millions of village children are given no education except in ill-kept, flimsy unequipped structures like this Can India afford to condemn her children to being schooled in hovels like this ?



INSIDE THE SAME SHED

Thousands of schools have no benches Little improvement can be made without more money Between 1929 and 1935 the provincial expenditure on education fell by 2.5 crores

Mexican rural schools, the benches and desks are made by the pupils.

3. *Encouragement of interested village leaders to visit the schools* and see that they have the requisite equipment and conditions for good teaching. Such men should be brought into full sympathy with the aims and work of the school. They can help secure more land around the schools. Two acres are needed for the larger schools for games, drill, and garden plots, and an acre for smaller schools.

E. HOW CAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS BE CENTRALIZED AND EXPANDED?

'Primary schools include: (a) schools teaching the full primary course prescribed by the department, (b) preparatory schools teaching less than the full primary course and (c) recognized *maktabs* and *pathsalas* and other denominational schools for special classes which teach a secular curriculum prescribed by the department.'¹

During the thirty years before 1932, British India's primary schools doubled in number from 98 to 201 thousand and their pupils almost tripled from 3,204 to 9,454 thousand. Schemes for further expansion have been proposed, popularly advocated, but shelved by retrenchment. The various provinces have made most uneven progress, the Punjab going ahead five times as fast as Bihar:

				PER CENT OF POPULATION IN ALL SCHOOLS	
				1932	GAIN 1927-32
Madras	.	...	..	6 25	1 95
Bombay	..	..	.	6 11	1 11
Punjab	.	.	.	5 61	2 61
Bengal	...	...	...	5 55	1 55
Assam	...	.	.	4 32	1 52
United Provinces	...	...	..	3 13	0 83
Central Provinces	...	...	..	2 96	0 56
Bihar and Orissa	.	.	..	2 90	0 50

The urban and rural primary schools and pupils number in thousands:

PRIMARY SCHOOLS			PUPILS	PER CENT OF POPULATION IN ALL SCHOOLS
Boys	..	169	8,156	7.33
Girls	...	33	1,299	1.89

¹ *India, 1927-32*, II, p 240.

For rural primary schools alone the figures are much lower:

	PRIMARY SCHOOLS (THOUSANDS)	PUPILS (THOUSANDS)	PER CENT OF RURAL POPULATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS
Boys ...	155	7,137	5.72
Girls ..	29	980	0.77
Combined ...	184	8,117	3.32

There is a rural boys' primary school for every 780 of the male population or for every 109 boys of school-going age and a girls' school for every 4,100 of the female population or for every 574 girls of school-going age. These schools are poorly distributed. Two or more schools often compete with each other in the same small village, and there may be no other school for miles. The smaller the village, the worse the school provision as these Madras figures show:

POPULATION	PER CENT WITHOUT SCHOOLS	
	1922	1927
Under 200 ...	91	83
200-500 ...	85	77
500-1000 ...	38	20
1000-2000 ...	17	7

In 1925 there were in Madras 2,744 schoolless centres with a population of 500 to 1,000 and 1,292 such centres with a population of over 1,000. One reason why the schools are so unevenly distributed is that new schools are started where a demand for education has already been aroused by an existing school. Indian education has bitterly suffered from the reckless multiplication of small schools. Fortunately by 1932 this tendency has been checked in all provinces except Bengal and Assam, where it has grown. The former has 36,000 schools with only three classes. Muslims are now to attend the same schools as Hindus, special Islamic subjects being introduced. Girls are to go to boys' schools and the staffs will include women teachers. No new Punjab board school is started unless the average attendance will be fifty or more.

The average rural primary school has 43 pupils which is an increase of about 7 over ten years ago. It has an average of 1.6 teachers or a teacher to every 27 pupils. Of India's village schools 60 per cent are single-teacher schools, in one half of which one man has to teach three or more classes. In Bengal the figure runs up to 76 per cent. Such schools are

almost always ineffective, though in sparsely populated areas, they may be the only way of providing any school at all. Provincial per cents of all primary schools having only one teacher are: Central Provinces, 16·5; Punjab, 17·4; Madras, 44·2; Bombay, 47·3; Bengal, 59·8 and Bihar and Orissa, 72·5.

Central schools for a number of adjacent villages were first started in India by Baroda State. The Punjab has recently organized them on a large scale, sometimes retaining junior schools with two classes in the more distant villages. Parents hesitate to send their children out of their village. Pupils find it difficult to walk far to school during intense summer heat and heavy monsoon downpours.

The following measures will be useful:

1. *The formation of strongly staffed, well located central schools*, by combining small schools that are within half a mile of each other. Schools within one and a half or two miles of the centre may well be united wherever there are no impassable barriers, such as flooded rivers. If some villages are farther than this, it may be necessary to have some outlying junior schools, connected with the central school and having one or two standards for the youngest children who cannot walk the distance. It is highly desirable that all the central school teachers except the headmaster, live in the outlying villages and bring the children back and forth every day. With the exception of large villages which can afford several teachers in every school, separate primary schools for boys and girls and segregate schools for different faiths and castes should be combined into single, strong schools so that the different children can come to know each other. Small, single-teacher schools have almost been eliminated from the Punjab. On the basis of considerable experience, I can state that central schools greatly improve the service which the schools can render, for these reasons: (a) The teachers help and encourage each other and see that all regularly attend to their duties. (b) Each teacher can concentrate his time and attention on one class instead of scattering it on three or four. (c) Better trained teachers, including women for the lowest standard, can often be secured. (d) The equipment can be made more adequate. (e) Wasteful competition between schools is eliminated. (f) On account of the above, the instruction is far better and

enables the pupils to make quicker and more substantial progress. (g) Therefore the children gladly walk longer distances and sometimes attend better at the centre than they did in their own villages, where the parents could call them out at any time (h) The parents have grown more interested in education and have sent their children to school more regularly. (i) The schools can be raised to a higher standard. (j) Inspection and supervision are facilitated. (k) These schools can be made demonstration centres for the surrounding areas. Being in close touch with other schools, they tend to improve their methods and stimulate them with increased activity. All who have visited our central schools have been most enthusiastic over the marked improvements that have taken place. Privately managed schools of this kind should receive more generous Government aid.

2. *The execution of long-term progressive programmes for the improvement and expansion of village education*, based on accurate surveys of the facts. Provision needs to be made for the steady betterment of the training and pay of teachers, for new buildings, for the wise location of schools to avoid overlapping, and for the means of maintaining literacy. In the words of the Hartog Commission, 'The present time is critical in the history of Indian mass education, and nothing short of a strong, concerted and well-directed effort will redeem it from the waste and ineffectiveness which now exist.' As an example of what is meant, the Philippine Legislature in 1918 decided to double the elementary school facilities in five years, train 12,000 more teachers, increase teachers' salaries and obtain several thousand new buildings and sites, at a cost of Rs. 45 million, or Rs. 4-8-0 per head, in addition to the tenth of the national income that already was going to education.

3. *The organization of councils or public boards especially for educational functions*. These can be of great service in energetically pushing and wisely co-ordinating and directing the expansion of primary or elementary education; but they should be above political partisanship. Committees can relieve them of the detailed work. The Madras Presidency in 1920 took the forward step of setting up *ad hoc* district educational councils, whose membership is chiefly elected by local bodies, but partly nominated to represent special

educational interests. The provinces will also find it a benefit to appoint special officers to co-ordinate all primary schools through helpful guidance and advice. Madras has recently appointed a Deputy Director of elementary education. This step was advocated for Bengal by Biss in his excellent reports on primary education.

F. HOW CAN MORE ADEQUATE FUNDS BE SECURED?

The total expenditures on education from all sources (including Government, local boards, missions, other private bodies and fees) increased until 1930 but decreased between then and 1932.

			AMOUNT	INCREASE DURING PRECEDING	
			(THOUSANDS)	5 YEARS	(PER CENT)
1922	...	...	183,753	70,870	62.8
1927	..	..	245,848	62,095	33.8
1932	...	..	271,857	26,009	10.6

The rate of increase is steadily falling. In 1930, the United States spent on public elementary schools 347 crores of rupees or 43 times as much as British India with less than half the population. In 1933, President Hoover said: 'In spite of our economic, social and Governmental difficulties, our future citizens must be built up now. We may delay other problems, but we cannot delay the day-to-day care and instruction of our children.'

For Central and Provincial Governments taken together, the main sources of revenue and objects of expenditure for 1930 were:

SOURCE	REVENUE	PER CENT	OBJECT	EXPENDITURE	PER CENT
Customs	...	22	Military	...	26
Railways	...	17	Railways	...	14
Land Revenue	..	15	Police, Jails, Justice	.	10
Excise	...	9	Debt Service	..	8
Income Taxes	...	8	Administration	.	6
Stamps	..	6	Civil Works	...	6
Salt	..	4	Education	...	6
Irrigation	.	4	Pensions, etc....	...	3
Forests	..	3	Irrigation	...	3
Interest	...	2	Forest	...	2
Military	...	1	Land Revenue	...	2
			Medical	...	2
			Public Health	...	1
			Agriculture	...	1
			Watch and Ward	...	1

Is it right to spend so much on the army and so little on schools?

The revenue per head in various countries in rupees is: United Kingdom, 290; United States, 222; Japan, 76 and India 10

It is illuminating to compare the direct expenditure in India on different stages of education with the number of students in each stage:

	EXPENDITURE		NUMBER OF STUDENTS	
	THOUSANDS	PER CENT	THOUSANDS	PER CENT
Universities and Colleges	35,856	17.8	99	0.8
Secondary	54,787	27.3	955	8.1
Middle	28,990	14.4	1,342	11.3
Primary	81,260	40.5	9,454	79.7

This can be expressed in another way by the average cost in rupees of one student for a year:

	MEN AND BOYS	WOMEN AND GIRLS
Professional Colleges	430	1,083
Arts, Science Colleges	201	495
High Schools	51	90
Middle Schools	20	34
Primary Schools	8	10

The total spent for primary education increased seven-fold from Rs. 11,876,000 in 1902 to Rs. 80,033,000 in 1934. Of the expenditure on boys' primary schools for all India, Madras pays 28 per cent; Bombay, 24; United Provinces, 13; Bengal, 10; Bihar and Orissa, 8; Punjab, 6, and Central Provinces, 5; which is not at all in proportion to population.

Of the Rs. 51,680,300 received for boys' rural primary schools and the Rs. 5,870,900 for girls' schools, these sources supply the following percentages:

	BOYS' SCHOOLS	GIRLS' SCHOOLS
Government	52	53
District Board	29	31
Other, including Fees	19	16

For years, primary schools have suffered severely from insufficient funds, having tried to accomplish a stupendous task with utterly inadequate resources. Much of what they spend has been wasted through their not bringing children to the point of permanent literacy. On this basis the Hartog Committee computed that 60 per cent of the total

expenditure had been wasted from 1923 to 1927. Undue emphasis having been laid on multiplying schools, it is not surprising that primary education has failed in quality. If the same amount had been spent on fewer schools, the results would have been better. The serious retrenchment since 1930 has further cut the funds available for schools. Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, tells how the crisis has been met: 'In a spirit almost of panic, wholesale reductions have been made by rule of thumb methods and by percentage reductions, with the result that good and bad together have been thrown indiscriminately into the abyss. A well directed policy would have resulted in the cutting away of dead wood and ineffective expenditure.'¹ Education is a step-child of Governments, having to wait its turn after more insistent demands have been met. It receives from the Central and Provincial Governments less than a quarter of what goes into the army, and under two-thirds of the expenditure for police, jails, and justice. The new national spirit and the political reforms have increased popular interest in education, but on the whole, people have not been willing to increase their taxes for the sake of education. Several schemes for compulsory education have floundered on this rock. However, a large number of Madras taluk boards have imposed an educational cess on their areas. The Meo cultivators in a Punjab district raised a voluntary levy equal to a tenth of the land revenue and started a middle school, which was soon raised to a high school. It is suggested:

1. *To make the money spent on primary schools educationally more productive*, by such means as: combining any schools that overlap or compete, as suggested earlier in this chapter; gradually introducing compulsory attendance at least to keep children in school; leaving no teachers destitute of the training and supervision they need for efficient work; maintaining literacy at a slight cost in those persons by whom it has been gained by considerable expenditure; and introducing administrative economies. The Punjab Provinces, United Provinces and Central Provinces have saved money by making their Directors of Public Instruction also Education Secretaries to Government. If more such means are used, the expenditure

¹ *India*, 1927-32, I, p. 4.

necessary for truly efficient schools would not be at all prohibitive.

2. *To continue to enlist private resources in public education by means of grants-in-aid.* The principles laid down in the great Educational Despatch of 1854 are still sound. The public welfare is truly advanced by the co-operation of voluntary bodies in educational work. Mr. Statham in his 1927 report on Madras Education (page 24) advanced these reasons for increasing the rates of teaching grants. '(1) a programme of expansion cannot be completed without the use of aided agencies; (2) aided schools should not be treated with markedly less liberality than other schools; and (3) underpaid teachers are ultimately wasteful as they are inefficient and ineffective.' The provisions should certainly be modified so as to cut down inefficiency. The grant may depend on whether the teachers are qualified, the instruction satisfactory, the attendance good and the building and its surroundings sanitary. There must be no serious retardation or dropping off of pupils before class IV, or frequent transfer of teachers. Special grants might be given if extra classes are added and well taught.

3. *To provide for more local support for primary schools, without lessening the aid from provincial revenues.* In 1904 the Government of India resolved that 'primary education should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues.' Has this resolution been carried into effect? By the Madras Elementary Education Act, any local authority may levy a cess not exceeding 25 per cent of the property, company and professional taxes. A contribution is then provided from provincial funds, which equals or exceeds the amount of the cess. The *Report on the Progress of Education in India* commends the Punjab and Bihar system of grants to districts by which the poor areas obtain more from provincial funds than do the wealthier ones. Where the people are unwilling to levy a cess themselves, more familiar means for increasing the resources of the primary school may be used, such as taking up voluntary subscriptions of money or farm produce and getting the poorer people to unite in contributing their labour in the building and repairing of village school houses. Mysore reports seventy cases where individuals or villages provided school-building and land. The Director

of Education in the Philippine Islands reported, 'It is no uncommon occurrence for all the people of a *barrio* (village) to work in securing voluntary contributions of cash and of materials, in clearing a school site, and in erecting a building. The present state of development of school sites and of buildings could not have been reached without this enthusiastic support of the people.' In Mexico the villagers donate the site, build, furnish and maintain the school. Federal officials pay and supervise the teacher and furnish leadership and stimulation.

4. *To increase the economic well-being of the people so that they can pay educational taxes.* This can be done by reviving cottage industries, introducing better farming methods and training the peasants in greater productivity, co-operation and thrift and by lessening the hold of disease. It has been shown in other countries that the right kind of mass education increases the people's productivity so substantially as to more than compensate the Government for its expenditure on schools. Since land revenue is inelastic, a more elastic revenue may be obtained by increasing the income taxes and having them paid by more people.

5. *To lead the public more fully to appreciate and support the rural school* by making it serve the daily life of the village, by showing how useful it is and by letting it foster the spirit of national unity. 'The only method by which the idea of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youths.'¹

6. *To increase the expenditure on strengthening village education*, since this is a time when millions of voters require to be made literate. As *India in 1920* said (page 163): 'Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily. For, without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern States, an uninformed but omnipotent electorate.' The danger is now far greater than in 1920, for the number of illiterate voters has been multiplied several times.

¹ *India in 1922*, p. 231.

CHAPTER VI

ADULT EDUCATION FURTHERS PROGRESSIVE SELF-HELP

A. Need the Teacher Instruct Adults? B. How can Villagers be Led to Help Each Other Forward? C. What can be Done for Social Progress and Adult Literacy? D. How can Hamlets Improve Their Health and Recreation? E. In What Ways can Villagers Co-operate for Economic Efficiency? F. What Guidance do Women and Girls Need?

A. NEED THE TEACHER INSTRUCT ADULTS?

The teacher's main rural service is to educate his pupils. What they learn in school should permeate the life of the home and village. With the teacher's guidance the children may give programmes and short dramas on health and social life. This is a valuable form of community service, since it leads both children and their parents to become progressive citizens of the new day. The teacher's primary responsibility is for his pupils and for what they do to help their parents. No other service, however important, should prevent him from devoting the necessary attention to the children. Then in what ways does the teacher need to work directly for adults?

First, he should do his part in changing the conditions that now seriously retard education. Boys and girls have little incentive to learn if their parents are indifferent to education or make no use of any knowledge derived from books. Children from the literate classes that are convinced by experience of the value of schooling have shot ahead educationally, for they have a good start in their homes. On the other hand, only a small proportion of the offspring of illiterate parents have been educated, for they have weak incentives toward laboriously gaining and retaining literacy. Children's

education also suffers from the appalling economic and hygienic conditions in the villages. The parents' desperate poverty keeps their children from school. Even when they attend, such poorly fed, diseased pupils cannot get the full benefit of school instruction. No one else but the teacher may be able to lead in remedying the present backwardness by showing the villagers how they can progress. Since such education of adults fosters fuller and more permanent education of children, the teacher has a real duty to help men and women enlarge their mental and social outlook.

The rural teacher also has a civic duty as a member of the village community. As a resident he shares the villagers' difficulties and sufferings, and may be the only one to lead them forward. If awake to his power for usefulness as the best educated man in the neighbourhood, he will seize every pressing rural need as a God-given opportunity to help his brothers and sisters. Since they are intensely conservative from their fear of the future and ignorance of outside affairs, he can share with them his courage and experience. When they are bound by antiquated customs, he can open their eyes to present realities. If they are content with what is mediocre and mean, he can show them a better way. When they are oppressed with economic burdens, he can lead to greater production and away from waste and extravagance. If they are decimated by epidemic cholera or dragged down by endemic malaria, it is the teacher's privilege to show them how to master disease and make sanitation their servant. In all these ways a resident teacher can accomplish far more than an occasional visitor, whose sermons on what ought to be done will soon slip from memory. But persistent adult education will produce permanent improvements in any village. To succeed in this, the teacher must know the facts of life and not merely bookish theories; he must demonstrate and dramatize as well as give verbal instruction.

Lastly, the teacher has a patriotic responsibility for educating his fellow citizens to use their new political power. The new constitutional changes provide for an electorate of over thirty millions who require both literacy and also discernment to judge the merits of candidates and issues. If the rural teacher will not help them to unbiassed judgment, no

one will. Circumstances call him to spread a sound knowledge of current events and the ability to interpret them from the viewpoint of the people's welfare.

Thus the teacher must give his time first to meeting the children's urgent need of education, and then what time he can spare to community improvement through adult education. The hours of session in village schools are often short enough to enable the teacher to talk with adults and help them solve their problems. If co-operative societies or other welfare agencies are already working well, he can let them do as much as possible and stay quietly in the background, stepping in only when need arises.

The Principal of Yuba City High School, California, writes that the school children's parents through their own cultural and vocational classes 'become better acquainted with the school and its teachers and this helps to win their friendship and loyalty to the school. . . It is my ambition to make our high school serve the whole community, old and young, day and night, and I believe we are succeeding. The plant is in use practically every minute of the day from eight-thirty in the morning until ten o'clock at night, five days in the week, and the number who use our plant for one purpose or another is astounding.'¹ The American Rural Adult Education Committee² reports that the public school has an unusual opportunity 'to open its doors and lend its resources for the use of adults in rural America, in whatever field adults may desire.' India's village schools have before them even greater openings for such valuable service.

B. HOW CAN VILLAGERS BE LED TO HELP EACH OTHER FORWARD?

The most valuable thing that any one can do in a village is to *lead its people to help themselves in active work for progress*. What is merely done by others for the villagers is shallow and short-lived in its effects but what they themselves do will take root and steadily grow in value. The whole village used to unite in promoting the common welfare, by repairing tanks, cleaning water channels and building roads.

¹ Landis and Willard, *Rural Adult Education*, p. 62.

² Under the National Education Association.



DIRECTORS IN CONFERENCE

The success of co-operative societies depends not on clothes, but on integrity, thrift and careful guidance. They are grappling with rural debt, which in Madras alone has risen from 45 to 200 crores in 40 years.



H R Fenger

AN IMPROVED HARROW

Demonstrations of better implements, whether on the land of a training school or cultivator, advance community standards and increase production. Together with larger crops must go cheaper marketing and fairer distribution of wealth.

Although this ancient practice has fallen into abeyance in many places, it may well be re-introduced in all.

In order to produce such self-help, *local leadership must be found and developed*. Often the village's natural leaders can be persuaded to lead a forward movement. But in case the existing leaders are too old or set in their ways, definite responsibility is to be placed on capable younger men so as gradually to bring out their innate abilities. The essentials of a true leader are enthusiastic loyalty to a cause, vital ability to inspire such loyalty in others, far-sighted vision, practical knowledge of men and things, and steady perseverance in putting ideas into practice in the face of odds.

Since rural self-help and progressive leadership rarely grow of themselves, encouragement and wise counsel are needed from outside sources. Many detached agencies have been at work, each dealing with a separate phase of rural life. Even Government departments have worked in isolation from each other, instead of treating the village as an organic unit. Such scattered efforts are doomed to failure, for life is a whole, not a patchwork of broken fragments. Concerted action by all agencies and persons is essential to more abundant village life. *The programme should be comprehensive and the execution of it as nearly simultaneous as possible*. The Rural Y.M.C.A's. have for years been working on this basis. The late Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the great American Country Life Association, during his fruitful visit to India proposed forming rural reconstruction units, or groups of ten to fifteen contiguous villages in which as full a programme as possible of service is made available for every one. All the various agencies, both official and private, would thus co-ordinate their efforts, form a welfare council and lead the people to co-operate in building a true rural civilization. The Central Rural Community Board has done important work in the Punjab, assisted in each district by rural community councils on which private bodies are well represented.

A comprehensive scheme for co-ordinated action, which shows the main things to be done, has just been brought forward by Mr. Sathianathan, the special officer appointed to study agricultural debt in Madras: 'In every taluk, there are from five to ten natural marketing centres, each centre being within fairly easy reach of a group of surrounding

villages, from which ryots bring in their produce periodically for sale. These are the centres where facilities for rural help may profitably be concentrated. I very strongly recommend that the following, among other, facilities may be made available at these centres: (i) a good warehouse for storing produce; (ii) a loan and sale society; (iii) a co-operative credit society for the supply of cheap, short-term, controlled credit for productive purposes, chiefly cultivation expenses; (iv) a co-operative stores; (v) other non-credit societies for the peasant population; (vi) a well-stocked agricultural depôt under a demonstrator to supply ryots with implements, seed, manure, graft plants, poultry eggs for hatching, bee-hives and so on; (vii) a small farm of 2 or 3 acres for demonstration purposes; (viii) a well-informed price information bureau; (ix) a stud bull; (x) a veterinary dispensary; (xi) a dispensary in charge of an official of the Public Health Department; (xii) a boring inspector and a boring set for putting down wells; (xiii) an inspector of industries; (xiv) a school for adults for the spread of knowledge pertaining to agriculture, co-operation, industries (especially cottage industries), public health and so on, with facilities for a certain amount of practical training; model appliances should be available for demonstration; (xv) a wireless loud-speaker. In working such centres, officials of the various Government departments, should, I submit, co-operate closely with each other. The activities so co-ordinated will soon make such centres popular and useful. Intensive village propaganda is needed, and if necessary, special institutions like co-operative societies may be started in villages, but controlled from the centres. The wireless will prove invaluable in attracting people, and as an instrument for amusement and imparting instruction is likely to be unrivalled, especially before the novelty wears off. Periodical lantern lectures, special lectures by well-known people (officials and non-officials), and so on are required to relieve monotony. Exhibitions, fairs, competitions and the like can be gradually introduced. In fact, there is no limit to the spread of activities, in and around the centres, once they have been given a fair start. In order to co-ordinate activities one experienced officer with a few assistants may be appointed for the whole presidency. Such centres have to

keep in close contact with debt conciliation boards and land mortgage banks.'

Mr. R. D. Anstead, formerly Director of Agriculture in Madras, said, 'What is needed is a well-thought out plan of campaign and then a simultaneous advance and attack all along the line, every man in it going over the top with one single thought in his mind—to do his very utmost to achieve the objective before him. No helper in this campaign must be turned aside from this purpose or diverted from it for a single moment by any consideration of politics or self, or he at once becomes a weak link which may wreck the whole.'

What are the most profitable methods that such agencies can use to make an effective appeal to most of the villagers? Because of their narrow range of knowledge, the self-sufficiency of their little round of activities, and the heavy economic burden under which they labour, most Indian villagers are intensely conservative and afraid of change. *They are not going to introduce an improvement unless they have seen with their own eyes that it will work well.* The printed page is not enough. In the United States over a million demonstrations a year are conducted on the lands of farmers themselves, at a cost of 25 million dollars or 7 crores of rupees. If visual demonstration is needed in educated America, how much more is it required in illiterate India?

Our villages require the kind of 'Moveable School' that has been used with so much success around Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. There the big lorry stays three to five days at a farm house, every part of which is used for demonstration. The teachers bring painting materials, farm implements, tools, first-aid equipment and other necessary things. The buildings are repaired and improved with the help of all the people who come from the surrounding community. The grounds are cleaned and laid out better. Women teachers meanwhile show the mothers how to make the inside of the home clean and convenient, how to select and prepare food to the best advantage. Every one is taught how to make fly-traps, sieves and other useful articles. New games are played by all, to their great enjoyment.

In various parts of India, magic lanterns, cinemas and travelling vans with exhibits, demonstrations and lectures have all been used to excellent effect, but not on so broad a

scale as they deserve, not being carried to the places where most of the people are.

The weekly market is one of the most valuable means lying ready to be used by the rural worker, for most of the nearby villagers come week by week. One or more stalls can be hired for a small sum and striking exhibits and charts hung up to attract the peasants' attention and bring them swarming together like bees around honey. Questions may be answered and further questions asked. Short, simple talks may be given about pressing problems by Government and other experts. Such work in the market is closest to the life of the people when it is run by a village panchayat. Exhibits and talks may be similarly given during the large religious festivals which draw from long distances their devotees by tens of thousands.

Another means having an immediate appeal is the drama, India's traditional method of adult education. Easy and popular tunes will 'catch the attention, grip the memory and circulate in all the villages, literally singing themselves into the minds and eventually into the lives of the people,' to use the words of that great rural leader, K. T. Paul. New and better plays need to be written so as to give the villager the very best available. The actors may be obtained from the villages and trained by men of experience. The drama can forcefully present truths on many subjects, such as health, sanitation, temperance, agriculture, cottage industry, marketing, usury and litigation. If a group of young men have been well trained, they can tour in the surrounding villages as has been done near the Y.M.C.A. Rural Centre at Martandam, Travancore, or else make gramophone records like those made at the Poona Y.M.C.A.

It is also useful to get Government officers and others to give simple lectures on village welfare, preferably illustrated. These are to be given regularly in the central villages and people called in from the smaller hamlets. Time is to be allowed for people to ask questions and tell of their own experience. Literates may be given easy bulletins and encouraged to read them aloud to others. Wireless is being successfully used in the villages of the Punjab and elsewhere.

In all such work, *efforts should be made to enlist the co-operation of the adolescents who are now so seriously neglected,*

even worse than are their parents. Branches of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides may be formed and inspired to serve. Or the young men may be organized into agricultural, stock-raising and village improvement groups that will enable them to earn something and also develop character and practical intelligence. Such activities can turn the critical adolescent period from a serious liability into a great asset.

Village guides should be started on a wide scale, as Mr. Brayne has done. The Agricultural Commission says:¹ 'Young men are given a special course of training which, in addition to imbuing them with a sense of the dignity of corporate labour for the mutual benefit, is designed to familiarize them with the principles of sanitation, elementary medical aid, co-operation, and agricultural improvement, and to give them knowledge of the simpler home industries in order that each man may, when his training is completed, act as "guide, philosopher and friend" to the group of villages to which he is posted. In technical matters, his knowledge is meant to enable him to direct the villagers where to go for advice rather than to give that advice himself.'

Still another way to use the energies of youth in productive channels is to lead college, high school and training school students into the service of their rural brothers during the vacations. Having worked with such students, I know the value of their labours both to themselves and to the villagers. It is, as the Punjab Christian Council said, 'a sacrificial, patriotic service to India at the point of her greatest need.'

The villages offer great scope for effective service by unemployed young men. The Travancore Unemployment Enquiry Committee said about a well co-ordinated movement for rural uplift, 'Such a campaign, deliberately planned and vigorously waged, is coming to be recognized as the true salvation for rural India. It will put new life into our decaying villages, check the tendency of migration to the towns, and increase the productivity of the rural population. It is a vast programme, requiring the services of energetic and public-spirited leaders and a host of enthusiastic followers. . . . It is not mainly with a view to finding immediate

¹ *Abridged Report*, p. 59.

employment for the educated unemployed that we have made this recommendation. We are thinking rather of the ultimate effects of such a movement in making village life and agriculture more attractive for our young men than it is at present, by improving the standard of life, the social amenities and the productivity of our rural areas.'

C HOW CAN SCHOOLS INCREASE SOCIAL PROGRESS AND ADULT LITERACY?

The improvement of the social and civic conditions discussed in chapter III is essentially a matter of adult education in the broadest sense of the term, the opening of people's minds by every method: demonstrations, talks and dramas as well as by books. Such adult education is the basic method of rebuilding and enriching all parts of village life.

What are desirable aims for adult education? The first general aim is the same as that given in the previous chapter as the broad goal of primary education. How can the school help the villagers become, not aimless machines, but *purposeful human beings*? They may speak of each other as animals, but the teacher can treat them with respect as human beings who have minds and feelings like his own. He can show them that what they think and feel and do make a real difference to him and also the great outside world. Large numbers of them are being given the vote, one of the high privileges of citizenship.

How can he lead them to participate wholeheartedly in enterprises for the common good? Mainly by helping to start such enterprises. Some of the main things in which every one participates now are quarrelling, litigation and drunkenness. Participation in these is whole-hearted enough, as anyone can see, but somehow they do not invariably work out for the common good! The school may become the centre for better community activities that will call the people's attention away from all that is unworthy of them. They may meet regularly and discuss their common interests and the improvement of the village. Some of the literates can read aloud from newspapers, periodicals and Government bulletins. The school may receive and distribute useful seeds, plants and small trees, as is done on a broad scale in the Philippines.

How can the teacher help his people to be open-minded toward new truth and to make rational decisions founded on evidence, instead of thoughtlessly accepting blind custom? He can enlarge their horizons and stimulate their minds by telling them of fresh ideas, new customs, novel and better ways of doing things. John Dewey points out that a felt need is the great incentive for thinking. The villagers may be shown fresh needs and convinced that thinking about them will do actual good. They may be encouraged to think through their problems, find solutions and try them out in practice.

The school can also help the adults to reach the second aim of education, *moral character and good citizenship*, including integrity and conviction, responsible co-operation in fostering goodwill and social progress, appreciation of the best in India's heritage and the noblest characters of history and the enrichment of the higher life by religion. The national revival in Denmark during the past seventy years and the great co-operative movement found their impetus largely in the Folk High Schools started by Bishop Grundtvig. They have no compulsory attendance, no examinations, no diplomas, they last two or three months a year, but by bringing their students into vital touch with the cultural heritage of the country, they have imparted new social vision, zest for life, and desire to co-operate. Mexico's adult night schools are performing a similar service.

Still another most valuable contribution that the school can make to the village is to *spread literacy among adults and see that it becomes permanent*. Many millions of India's new voters are illiterate villagers. School children lack the incentive to learn which they would have if their homes contained books and their parents could read and write.

What are the facts about literacy? The *Indian Census* defines a literate as 'a person who can write a letter to a friend and read his reply' and thus does not call literate the tens of thousands who can read religious books but are unable to write, while in the *United States Census*, the illiteracy figures 'should be understood as representing only those persons who have had no schooling whatever.'¹ India without Burma has 23.5 million literates out of 284 million

¹ *Census*, 1920, III, p. 10.

people over 5 years of age or only 8·3 per cent. It varies with the Province:

PER CENT INCREASE OVER 1921

	PER CENT LITERATE	PERCENTAGE		PER CENT LITERATE	PERCENTAGE
Bengal ...	11·1	9·7	Punjab ...	6·3	46·9
Bombay ...	10·8	20·9	United Pro- vinces ...	5·5	34·4
Madras ...	10·8	19·1	Bihar and Orissa ...	5·3	8·9
Assam ...	9·3	41·0			
Central Pro- vinces ...	6·6	38·1			

Among persons of all ages, literacy per cents are: France, 80; England, 76; United States, 75; Japan, 72.

Literacy is more prevalent in cities and towns than in the villages. In the 34 largest cities, males are nearly thrice and females six times as literate as in the general population. Of the 23·5 million literates, something like 2·5 million are in the cities and 2 million in the towns, leaving about 19 million in the villages, out of a total rural population over 5 years of 263 million, or 7·2 per cent. The villages have 244 million illiterates over 5.

Literacy varies widely with occupation and social status, being generally high among priests, writers and traders, and low among the Depressed Classes. Some striking contrasts may be noted:

PER CENT LITERATE

	MALES	FEMALES		MALES	FEMALES
Nayars ...	60·3	27·6	Rajputs ...	15·3	1·3
Brahmans ...	43·7	9·6	Chamars ...	1·0	0·1

The literacy percentages for persons over 5 in India without Burma are:

Zoroastrians ...	79·1	Sikhs ...	9·1
Jews ...	41·6	Hindus ...	8·4
Jains ...	35·3	Muslims ...	6·4
Christians ...	27·9	Tribal ...	0·7

The three faiths with the highest per cents are few in number and mostly town traders.

The average duration of primary school life is around four years, during which time many millions stagnate in the first two classes and never attain literacy. Other millions gain the ability to read and later lose it. One reason is that rural occupations, as now conducted, furnish little motive for

acquiring literacy. Also the vernacular alphabets, with their hundreds of sound combinations, are slowly learned and soon forgotten.

How can we help to bring literacy to our rural brothers and sisters? We cannot depend upon day schools alone, since they cannot help the adult illiterates. For them we must do something at once. Adult night schools have been tried throughout India. The Punjab co-operative societies, with the encouragement of the department, have given a great impetus to adult education. But in 1932 India had only 5,482 night schools with 154,850 pupils. Instead of there being ten times as many schools as ten years ago, the number has sunk to less than half. Why has there been this sad loss in the face of the appalling need? Provincial Governments have had to save money, and the reduction of night school grants was hit upon as a convenient economy, especially since so many of them were badly run and some even non-existent! Money on primary schools would be far more wisely spent if literate rural children and adults had some incentive to retain literacy. Instead, present conditions give every encouragement for them to go straight back into the illiteracy out of which they were brought with such difficulty.

India excluding Burma has only 3,159 thousand literate women, or 2.3 per cent of females over 5 years. The Agricultural Commission stressed the importance of making them literate as they would then make sure that their children were able to read. But the education of village women has been blocked by inertia and the great difficulties in the way, especially the *pardah*. Russian women's literacy is said to have risen from 44 to 92 per cent in thirteen years.

Can adults be taught to learn? An impression is current that after a certain age no one can learn a new language. Science has proved this false. Dr. E. L. Thorndike, one of the greatest educational psychologists, as the result of many careful experiments among American adults, has shown that the ability to learn rapidly increases until the age of 25 and then gradually drops about 1 per cent a year. In his book, *Adult Learning*, he reports that the average man of 42, although only five-sixths as bright as one of 22, can learn better than a youth of 15 and far better than a child of 10. These are the findings for literate Americans and may not

hold entirely true of illiterate Indian villagers in India, where the impetus to mental activity is so much less, but a further statement by Thorndike can be applied to India: 'A man or woman under 50 should seldom be discouraged from trying to learn. To the lesser degree, this is true after 50 years.' Adults in South Carolina, America, were taught reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic for only one month and the results scientifically measured. The intermediate group did work equivalent to what average elementary pupils do in 7.5 months and the advanced group's work was equal to 9.5 months of work by children.¹

The illiterate is utterly discouraged about himself. There are so many obstacles in the way that he is sure that he cannot learn to read. Sometimes he wishes he might do so, but he feels it entirely beyond him. Thousands have attended night school for a week or so, found how many letters must be learned, left school never to return, and have sunk deeper than ever into the Slough of Despond. *Methods that are pleasanter and easier for him must be found, also many more teachers.*

Both of these needs are met by the plan of action worked out by Dr. Frank C. Laubach among the Muslims living near Lake Lanao in the Philippines. In 1929 less than 5 per cent of the population were literate, but in 1932, an additional 40 per cent or 41,000 people had learned to read by these methods. Since then, the work has grown by such leaps and bounds that it is impossible to estimate the numbers reached. Dr. Laubach has helped people work out easy charts in thirty different languages, including Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu, which were prepared when he was in India at the beginning of 1935. What is the secret of it? The charts are very easy at the start and graded smoothly so that there are no great difficulties. One new letter is taught at a time, with some pleasant way to remember it without monotonous repetition. Letters are at once used in short familiar words which show the pronunciation. If any letter is forgotten, the learner can go back to the illustrated key word at the top of the page. For these reasons, any man or woman who has read through a lesson can at once teach it

¹ Landis and Willard, *Rural Adult Education*, p. 52.

to some one else, which the teacher asks him to do under his supervision. Then the learner is given some charts and asked to teach as many people as he can and report their names the following day, when he is taught the next lesson in the same fashion. The reasons why the adult who has just become literate should start right in teaching others are: (a) It gives him a strong motive for mastering his lesson; even before he knows a letter, the teacher tells him that he is going to become a teacher. (b) The teaching of the lesson to others fixes it firmly in the learner's mind. (c) It removes his feeling that he is too stupid to learn. (d) It gives him the joy of friendly service. (e) India's 27 crores of illiterates over five can only be taught with the help of such volunteer teachers. Two things are necessary: thoughtfully prepared, cheaply printed charts like the above and a periodical issued once or twice a month with extremely simple paragraphs of interest to new literates.

As to the methods of teaching illiterates, Dr. Laubach gives these directions. Show him that he can learn quickly and pleasantly. Smile at him and speak distinctly and gently. If he does well, tell him so. If he makes a mistake, quietly give the correct way. Let him talk as much as he wants to; he'll like that. You need not tell him what he already knows. Give him a wonderful time. Show the love that never faileth, no matter how stupid your pupil is.

These charts and these methods have little that is new. The important thing is that they work. When you tell a man that he is going to become a teacher, he throws out his chest and thinks, Who would have imagined it? This is all based on good psychology. With an enthusiastic, cheerful, persevering teacher, a whole village could be made literate in two or three months. Methods of this kind open the way for useful adult night schools, valuable summer schools, and truly effective service by students during their long vacations.

As soon as our brothers and sisters are made literate, they must be given something to read so that their reading ability will steadily grow stronger. The amount of printed material in rural areas is negligible. Per million of population India has 13 newspapers and periodicals, Russia, 100; Japan, 155 and the United States, 172. Such printed matter comes to few villages, in spite of the fact that vernacular newspapers in

Madras have doubled their circulation in ten years. The amount of appealing reading matter in the villages needs to be greatly increased, so as to strengthen the motives and better the facilities for reading. Signs, notices and proverbs may be posted in prominent places. Every large village school requires a library of cheap publications containing interesting stories, periodicals, and popular bulletins on agriculture, marketing, animal and poultry husbandry, easy books on civics, geography and history. Lending libraries are also needed. Teachers and supervisors may keep the books in circulation and see that they are promptly returned. Village and circulating libraries have been most beneficial in Baroda, Bombay, Central Provinces and other parts of India. In British county libraries, the books issued rose between 1929 and 1934 from 4,187 to 9,442 thousand, and the registered readers from 250 to 512 thousand, or 21 per cent of the population.

D. HOW CAN HAMLETS IMPROVE THEIR HEALTH AND RECREATION?

The disastrous havoc wrought by disease has been told in chapter II. General methods of attack have already been given in section B of this chapter. Now we must consider briefly the kinds of work necessary to overcome disease, establish health and provide wholesome recreation.

All the residents need to be aroused to the shame and danger of the present insanitary conditions. The teacher can get information from the village officials about the deaths from various causes during the past year and call the people's attention to the main diseases and epidemics in their hamlet and adjoining places. He can get them to give their ideas as to what conditions are responsible, and show them what the real reasons are. If possible, a health official may be called in to give an illustrated talk on sanitation. The unsightly and harmful rubbish heaps, the filthy well and other danger spots may be pointed out to the leaders on a tour of inspection. There may be a competition to see who has the cleanest house. The alarming increase of leprosy can be prevented by early diagnosis and treatment, by building up the general health, eradicating other diseases and providing a nourishing diet.

Schools and training schools can take an important part in the campaign for better health. In the Punjab, 'thousands of lectures have been given by teachers and inspecting officers. Thousands of people have been vaccinated and inoculated at their persuasion. Prophylactic measures have been taken in hundreds of villages against disease. Streets have been cleaned, manure pits have been dug. Wells have been purified.'¹ Singing parties composed of school boys have spread songs about rural uplift.

There is no quick and easy way to rouse the leaders to action, but once a few young men get well started, they will gladly labour hard to clean the streets and wells, store the rubbish in pits outside the village for use on the fields, improve the drainage, and fill up the stagnant pools. Drinking wells can be protected from contamination, and people prohibited from washing in such wells. Probably the wells need to be deepened and solid walls built around them. Separate bore-hole latrines or pits can be provided for men and women. Windows can be put in the walls to give the needed light and air.

The village officials and the teacher can call on medical and health agencies to give their assistance. Bombay has a village medical aid scheme by which village teachers are trained to deal with minor ailments and render first aid. The Missionary Medical School for Women sends out weekly ambulances with doctors, medical students and nurses in four directions from Vellore on regular routes. Hundreds of thousands of cases have been treated during the twenty odd years since this valuable form of service was started. In some weeks over five hundred cases of leprosy have been injected by a single doctor. The village people know what day the ambulance comes and gladly bring their sick to the appointed stopping place. If women have to go to the hospital, they are carried there in the evening. The way in which the ministry of healing is carried to the villages will vary with the province and the locality, but it needs to be far more broadly extended, as only the fringe of the problem has yet been touched.

In most hamlets *the people have little variety and colour to*

¹ Punjab, 1927-32.

break the dull drudgery of their lives. There is plenty of physical exercise, but almost no bodily recreation, which performs a different, and as important, a function. Recreation gives relaxation and joy to life, promotes friendly social contacts and good spirits, and forms character. All for which the peasant spends his hard earned cash at the toddy shop, he could get free from games, and far more, in a wholesome environment. If recreation had more hold, liquor would have less. Healthy games are specially needed by village children and adolescents, who do not know the great variety of good games which they could play. Between 1930 and 1933, rural Mexicans built 4,000 open-air theatres in connection with their rural schools.¹

For the life abundant, mental and spiritual recreation are required. Real culture is possible even to illiterates. Now their eyes are closed to the wonders and beauties of nature. Simple art forms may be encouraged by decorating the inside and outside of houses, and making tasteful baskets, pots and other utensils. The appreciation of all that is good, beautiful and true may be developed.

E. HOW CAN VILLAGERS CO-OPERATE FOR ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY?

Co-operative societies have seen large gains during recent years:

			SOCIETIES (THOUSANDS)	MEMBERS (THOUSANDS)	ASSETS (THOUSANDS)
1921	...	...	48	1,753	264,293
1931	...	...	106	4,308	919,122

More than nine-tenths of the societies and three-quarters of the members are agricultural. To prevent exploitation by money-lenders, co-operative credit societies may be started where conditions are suitable and where trained persons will steadily keep implanting sound principles of co-operation. Each member must be brought to a deep sense of responsibility for the careful management of the society and his prompt repayment of loans. Care should also be taken that the officers are carefully supervised. When a society is first started, people tend to forget that it has any other function

¹ See appendix D.

than to make loans and extend credit. Often they fail to repay the loans previously received from others, with the result that the total amount of their debt has grown with the introduction of co-operation. Loans have also been spent unwisely, which has made repayment difficult, especially during times of falling agricultural prices. As much as possible of the leadership should rest with the villagers. Teachers may take an active part only if their help is required, which will be the case in many villages.

A properly managed society educates its members in the supreme value of mutual trust and concerted action. It trains them to follow the leaders they have chosen and disciplines the leaders to accept the policies and actions laid down by the members, to say nothing of the criticisms they may make. It also makes for business-like habits and the keeping of accurate records.

Non-credit societies are comparatively few in number: production, 1,140; production and sale, 1,565; purchase, production and sale, 347; all other forms, 1,055. A large majority of the societies for production only are found in Bengal, and of those for production and sale in the Punjab. These societies are even more important for rural welfare than those for credit, for they increase the production of the people and reduce their expenses. In the United States, co-operative associations of farmers for buying and selling have made rapid strides in the past twenty years:

	ASSOCIATIONS	MEMBERS (THOUSANDS)	VOLUME OF BUSINESS (MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)
1915	5,424	621	636
1932	11,900	3,200	1,925

Demonstrations of better methods of farming should be more widely made by the agricultural departments where they will be easily seen by the cultivators. The best place is on the land of one of the progressive men of the locality, a practice which has done more for American agriculture than any amount of printed matter or good advice could have possibly done. Every year over a million men there make such demonstrations.

Some of the subjects that should be taught to the villagers at the weekly markets are better farming and marketing, the control of plant and cattle diseases, insect and rodent pests,

preservation of cattle manure and cattle breeding. Improved implements, seeds, fertilizers and poultry may be sold there, as well as at more permanent centres. It would be advantageous if the villagers grew more trees for fruit, timber and firewood. With more wood available for burning, less of the precious nitrogen from cattle dung would have to go up in smoke. Villagers must understand their rights and be able to present their case so as to open townspeople's eyes.

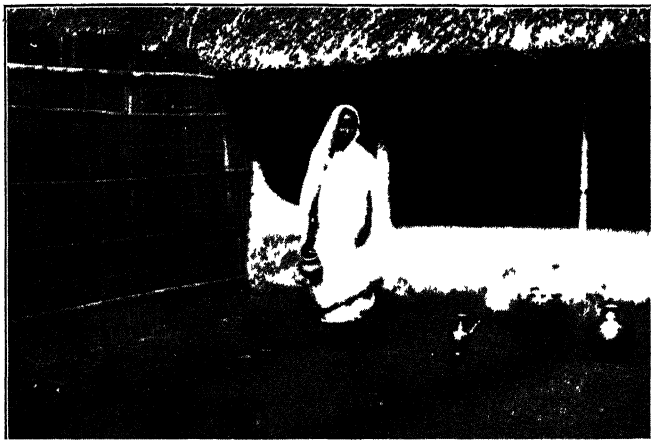
Since agricultural operations occupy only from three to seven months of the year, every peasant ought to have *some subsidiary occupations to follow during the slack seasons*, and also during that time of day when he has nothing else to do. The nature of the handicrafts will depend on the locality. Some possible cottage industries are: spinning, weaving, dyeing, the making of rope, mats and baskets, rough carpentry, smithing, the keeping of goats, poultry or bees, and the rearing of tussur, eri or regular silk worms. In most places a small garden is possible. In all such work co-operative effort is better and more likely to be successful than individual effort. In some cases the product can be used by the family itself to raise its low standard of comfort. In others, it can be sold for a small amount of money to supplement the meagre income.

Not only can the income be increased but wasteful expenditure needs to be cut down, such as for litigation, intoxicants, marriage and death ceremonies. It is extremely hard for a person by himself to break the hold of the iron-clad customs on which all of these rest, but economy and freedom have been achieved by the earnest co-operation of like-minded people.

Such economic uplift is a large enough task to absorb the best thought and energies of every one. If members of all parties threw themselves into joint action for this end, the face of rural India would profoundly change for the better.

F. WHAT GUIDANCE DO WOMEN AND GIRLS NEED?

Women hold in their hands the future of the race and also the future of the village, since they so largely determine the upbringing of the rising generation. Commonly education and science have pulled in one direction and the orthodox Hindu home has pulled in exactly the opposite direction.



A FAMILY COURTYARD

Mothers need to learn to grow flowers and keep their yards scrupulously clean, as does this Bengali woman. On women's education rests the welfare of home, village and nation.



WOMEN AT HARD LABOUR

Rice husked by hand pounding has better food values than the polished grain from the mills, which are fast destroying this village industry. Are the new ministries going to let rural handicrafts die of neglect?

Usually the women win out. The strength of such tendencies in the past is what makes the recent women's conferences throughout India so far reaching in their significance. Women are thinking through those things which affect them and the home, and are taking active part in public affairs, more than ever before.

Village women need to feel this stirring of new life, and in some places they are beginning to feel it, as is shown by the women's institutes of the Punjab. Such institutes should be started in all large villages, as centres for all the work that is done by and for women. If there is no one else to take the initiative, the teacher's wife can guide the mothers, to study their problems together. She may demonstrate to her village sisters by her own home how their homes may be kept hygienic and attractive, with plenty of light and ventilation, and how to care for and train children in good habits and to nurse the sick. She can show them how to save money by wise purchases, care of household effects and making useful articles of local materials. She can help them to mend the clothes of the family when they are first torn and to make new garments for the children. Well balanced food is one of the serious lacks that women can supply if they have been instructed what to do and shown how to do it cheaply. Scrupulous cleanliness and disease prevention also need to be taught.

The needs of the adolescent girls and the younger married women are different from those of their older sisters. They should have their own times for recreation and for meeting together to discuss their affairs. As in every other form of village work, the larger the share that the women themselves can take in bettering their conditions, the more educative it is for them and the more permanent are the results.

If educated women band together to serve their rural sisters, the possibilities ahead are limitless. Such helpfulness is one of the most vital contributions that any one can make to India.

THIRD ENQUIRY:

HOW CAN TEACHERS BE ENABLED
TO REFORM VILLAGE SCHOOLS
AND LIFE?

It is knowledge poured as a sacrifice on the altar of man which will help India in the coming days. Nations cannot live by diplomas and dead creeds; nations live by men who use knowledge in the service of love; men who will tell the truth and rebuke the wrong and be loyal to the law within though the heavens fall.

—T. L. VASWANI

CHAPTER VII

TEACHERS ARE EQUIPPED BY PROFESSIONAL COURSES

A. At What should Training Schools Aim? B. How can Students Best be Guided to Learn? C. What Projects Advance Social Leadership? D. What Work Develops Skilful Teaching? E. What Activities Promote Health and Recreation? F. What Courses Foster Practical Skill and Understanding? G. What Special Preparation do Women Need?

A. AT WHAT SHOULD TRAINING SCHOOLS AIM?

The teacher needs just as careful training to deal with children's precious minds and spirits as do doctors and nurses to deal with their bodies. The common assumption that once studying a subject enables a person to teach it, is a most dangerous fallacy, for it delivers children into incompetent hands to their lasting injury. Teaching is far more than glibly repeating a few facts or phrases. The teacher must know his pupils' minds and the best ways of presenting material to them, for him to be a safe person to mould children's lives and direct their whole future development. He has to deal with children at a very difficult stage, when they puzzle untrained adults.

The fact that many millions of India's budding citizens have their main contact with civilization in the village school, makes it imperative that they be well taught by finely equipped men and women. The village teacher is usually sent to a lonely outpost where he has very little contact with educated people. The only persons to visit him from outside during the year may be the school inspector and a few officials. He may be the only literate man in the neighbourhood, but in any case heavier responsibilities for village

affairs are thrown on him than would be placed on a town teacher. One danger is that he will keep his standards, but become lonely and stay in the village as little as possible. An opposite danger is that he will get his standards from the other residents, sink to their level and make no effort to raise it. The great need is for a man who will make his home in the village, be close to the peasants, and deeply interested in all that concerns them, but not taking from them his standards either for school or personal life. He should have ideals and struggle to achieve them. He must make changes, but cannot force the pace too rapidly. For this complex work, one of the most difficult tasks conceivable, he needs the best possible preparation for making him purposeful and resourceful.

1. The training school should seek to reach the general aim of education: *to help every future teacher become, not an aimless machine, but a purposeful human being*: (a) wholeheartedly participating in real life, even while in training, not half-heartedly preparing to become some kind of pedagogue, (b) developing his whole being—body, mind, and spirit—not training a few isolated abilities, (c) open-mindedly seeking, not stubbornly rejecting, new and helpful truths, (d) making rational decisions founded on evidence, instead of thoughtlessly accepting and following blind custom.

This aim is a standard by which instruction in the training school can be measured, but it gives no detailed guidance regarding courses. For this, we may adapt the primary school aims mentioned above to training school problems. These will be discussed and applied in later sections of this chapter. Here the aims are stated.

2. The training school exists to *help every future teacher to share with his pupils moral character and good citizenship*, including: (a) firm integrity and courageous conviction, (b) responsible co-operation with others in serving the home, the school, the village and the nation, and in fostering goodwill and social progress, (c) appreciation of the best in India's heritage and history, and of the noblest characters of this and other lands, and (d) enrichment of the higher life.

3. The training institution is to assist all its students to *master the fine art of teaching so that their future pupils will learn thoroughly and quickly*. This involves on the part of the

prospective teacher: (a) comprehension of useful books and application of their relevant ideas to daily problems, (b) broad knowledge and understanding of life, (c) clear expression of thought in fluent and correct speech and writing, (d) sympathetic understanding of child nature, and (e) practical mastery of the most suitable and interesting methods of teaching children and imparting to them desirable habits, attitudes and information.

4. The school should enable its students to *have sound health and physical and cultural recreation and to impart these to their future pupils*, including: (a) the habits and knowledge necessary to attain vitality that will overcome disease, (b) a sound, well-controlled body, growing in weight, (c) deep responsibility for school and village sanitation and for health publicity, (d) long familiarity with suitable games, folk dances and drills, (e) ability to use leisure time wisely for refreshment and culture, and (f) appreciation of good music, drama and art.

5. The institution is to aid all its students to *grow in practical skill and understanding and the facility to give these to others*: (a) skill in number and space work useful to the villager and the teacher, (b) appreciation and understanding of the natural environment, and of agriculture, pasturage and handicrafts, (c) skill in using ordinary tools and methods and knowledge concerning them, so as to develop children's individual aptitudes, (d) practical ability in wisely purchasing and using common goods, and (e) ability to shield the villagers from exploitation.

B. HOW CAN STUDENTS BEST BE GUIDED TO LEARN?

The test of teaching is not the fine words uttered but the actual changes produced in the students' ways of acting and living. What are they learning and how are they learning it? How can they best be led to acquire the finest habits of studying and teaching?

The quality of instruction in the training school is of utmost importance because men and women will teach largely as they have been taught. They tend to use the same kind of methods as have been used with them, either good or bad. They come for training with the handicap of having been taught largely by dull, mechanical methods. This handicap

should be overcome in training school and the students well started on better paths.

Are the training schools helping their students become purposeful human beings, not aimless machines? Do they whole-heartedly participate in real life, even while in training instead of languidly preparing for later existence? Most of our training schools do all too little to reach these aims. The cause of village education is one to enlist the full loyalty of earnest young men, but the clarion call is rarely sounded. The staff and students are not specially whole-hearted in their life and work. The classes are poorly correlated with the practical work.

Are the students brought to seeking new and helpful truths open-mindedly? Are the students taught to make rational decisions, founded on evidence, regarding educational problems and their solution? Too much time is now usually given to the absorption of details from lectures and memorizing them in preparation for the final examination. The class periods are devoted more to the reiteration of detailed points of information, than to thought-provoking discussion. The students in training may not have been taught to think for themselves. They spend too much time on beautifying their notes and too little on trying to apply what they have learned. The syllabus is often followed too blindly. Some textbooks are poor in quality, others are beyond the students' comprehension. The whole function of the training school is commonly regarded in too mechanical a light, as a place to put people through certain motions, rather than a place for stimulating independent thought and study. One reason for this is that a formal kind of instruction has often been ingrained in the school staff.

Uniform examinations are given in subject matter and theory for all training institutions of a province. Teaching ability is tested by the student giving a prepared lesson before examiners. In nearly all provinces, the student's ranking for the course depends too much on the final examinations, which tend to dominate all the instruction, and to produce senseless cramming of the mind with abstract information that is often useless.

The following steps may well be taken:

1. *Teach the students by the lively methods they are to use*

in instructing others, both in the model school and later in their villages. Various kinds of enterprises may be presented to them for their purposeful adoption as projects. Every week some time should be set aside for the free discussion of problems suggested by the students. Wider use should be made of the project approach, as in the Government training school at Gakhar, Punjab.

2. *Lead the students to think their problems through to a solution* instead of telling them some accepted solution. They may be accustomed to demand evidence and to draw their facts from many sources. Original ideas may be commended. In the quarterly and half-yearly tests, special credit may be given to men using their brains rather than to those regurgitating half-digested, second-hand notes.

3. *Develop habits of independent study.* The students need to be shown that studying a book is not passively accepting and memorizing all its ideas—it is a matter of asking questions of the book and finding its answers. The true student weighs what is presented and chooses what is best and most applicable to his situation. The assignment system of the Dalton plan has been used to good effect in Punjab training schools. To form right study habits, training schools need a larger number of simple, up-to-date vernacular textbooks, including those dealing with better methods. If persons in training really learn to study, they will continue to do so after starting to teach.

C. WHAT PROJECTS ADVANCE SOCIAL LEADERSHIP?

To what extent do Indian training schools reach the second goal of education, to help the future teachers share with their pupils moral character and good citizenship? Do they enable them to build firm integrity and courageous conviction both in themselves and in others? The student teachers cannot give away what they do not have. The training school is responsible for seeing that they form strong character and habits of good citizenship. These are moulded in their contacts with others. The students now take little time for joint activities, since they are at their books most of the day. Nor are the rooms, fields and equipment usually suitable for encouraging common life among them. There is almost no continuity of social tradition if the course lasts only one year.

In the hostels, character can be as profoundly influenced as in any other part of the school. In men's training schools about two-thirds of the students live in hostels, and in women's schools nearly four-fifths. Persons of different religions and castes usually eat and have their cooking done separately. The diet is often poorly balanced. Many hostels suffer from inadequate care.

The staff members commonly spend little time with their students outside of class. They are often too busy to supervise and guide the outside activities that are so very valuable to the students' social and cultural development.

How far do the training schools provide for responsible co-operation with others in serving the home, the village and the nation, and in fostering goodwill and social progress? The Director of Public Instruction of the Central Provinces wrote: 'Enough has not been done to train students to a sense of their future responsibilities as leaders of thought and pioneers of progress in village communities. The ideal of service to community should be set before normal school students so that when they become teachers, they can assist or take the lead in all movements that make villagers happier and more prosperous.' For this, the best kind of preparation is to take the students out to the villages for actual service to their rural brothers and sisters, which has been done to such good effect in the Punjab.

Bombay trains students under rural conditions at Narayangaon and the Punjab at Gakhar. But many schools are isolated from the life and thought of the district and country, though Madras training schools now have a course in elementary sociology. They do little to lead the students to appreciate the best in India's heritage and history, and to admire the noblest characters of India and other countries. Government institutions, bound as they are by the provisions for religious neutrality, cannot do much to strengthen religious convictions or enrich the higher life.

To improve existing conditions, why can we not take these measures?

1. *Provide for more student activities outside of class*, preferably with the participation of one or more staff members. The students may go on excursions to investigate and study social conditions. All of them should take part in

games and sports. For these and other ends it is most desirable that there be hostels to accommodate all the students. They and the teachers should have frequent chances to meet informally and come to know each other, sometimes in a common room containing indoor games and interesting periodicals. The Calcutta University Commission reported, 'The growth of a strong corporate life through friendly and informal intercourse between teachers and students, each equally loyal to the good name of the college, would do much to banish the present dreary monotony of the students' lives.'¹ If the staff can reside in houses connected with the school, it is a great advantage.

2. *Provide for a larger measure of student self-government and participation in responsible work* This has proved successful, among other places, in the training school at Moga and in Dr. Tagore's school at Shantiniketan. It has the advantage of giving the students an amount of responsibility which is wholesome for them, and also of relieving the staff of detailed work, although careful supervision is still needed. Each student should have his turn in working for the school and hostel, such as being attendance or sick monitor or helping in the buying, preparation and serving of food.

3. *Instruct the students in community relations*, to give them a clear vision of the potentialities of village life, the ways to realize them, and of the best methods of teaching adults. The work may well include: the community relations of the teacher, the improvement of home life, co-operative societies, Government agencies promoting local welfare, local resources, economic production and distribution, debt, young men's clubs for nature-study or agricultural production. The school as a community centre, the best ways of making adults interested in learning, the maintenance of literacy by the reading of useful material, and the ways of getting such material, will also be discussed. Much of the preparation for the course will consist in reading and evaluating Government pamphlets useful to villagers. Officials whose work directly concerns village welfare will be asked to give occasional lectures. The instruction will include the inter-relations of town with village and the making of surveys.

¹ IV, p. 459.

4 *Accustom the future teachers to serve the nearby villages with enthusiasm*, so that they can become capable leaders in the improvement of rural life. By the joy of service, the students can be brought out of narrow self-interest to broad social concern. In the Punjab they do publicity work in the villages, speaking on social and economic evils and telling the benefits of co-operation and better farm methods.

5. *Familiarize the students with the important movements of Indian history, so that they can better understand current events.* Special stress may be laid on the great personalities of the past and present. Religion may be shown as a strengthening and unifying factor. Confidence in God and in the eventual victory of the right can also be taught, for this removes unreasonable and general fears and strengthens character. The students' consciences will be enlightened if they see spiritual reality in the lives of their teachers. The positive contributions of various religions may be stressed, such as Hinduism's deep sense of reverence, desire for contact with ultimate reality, open-mindedness, gentle tolerance and stress on all living creatures' kinship. Both Islam and Sikhism have simplicity, directness, a sense of God's power, and a passionate zeal for ideals of righteousness and truth. Islam means surrender to God's will; it tolerates no racial cleavage. Christianity brings the highest qualities and truths incarnated in Jesus' matchless life, his insistent moral emphasis, his assurance of God as the Father who wills to develop the fullest personality in all, his revelation of deliverance from sin as God's free gift, not the reward of human virtue or merit.

D. WHAT WORK DEVELOPS SKILFUL TEACHING?

Are our training schools in India enabling their students to become masters in the fine art of teaching? Some persons are natural born teachers, their horizon is enlarged during training. Others have latent capacities that are developed and brought to fruition.

Do our Indian training schools help their students to comprehend useful books? Yes, in some degree, but the students are not well shown how to read with profit and pleasure, so that the habit of reading will be firmly fixed for life. Sometimes the textbooks are too hard, especially those

in the vernacular. In some languages few suitable books are available. The training schools do not fare so well in getting their students to apply the relevant ideas from books to their daily problems. They read rather to pass their examinations than to find what is true or useful.

It is important that teachers have broader horizons and richer backgrounds than those whom they are to teach. Men and women who have had only eight or nine years of schooling specially need further mental resources on which they can draw. Do the training institutions impart a broad knowledge and understanding of life? They do what they can with their limited resources and time. They expand their students' knowledge by various courses. They also help them express themselves clearly in fluent speech and writing. But they do very little to impart a sympathetic understanding of child nature. A full course in educational psychology being impossible, the schools are tempted to give no systematic instruction at all in child study.

The aids and prerequisites to skilful teaching just considered, can best be imparted by suitable observation and practice teaching. How far do the training schools give a practical mastery of the most suitable and interesting methods of teaching children and of imparting to them desirable habits, attitudes and information? They make good provision for observation of teaching work, but not enough for the discussion of what has been observed, or for linking it up with educational principles. Model lessons are arranged in all the school subjects. In the United Provinces, six demonstration lessons are given a year in each subject of the curriculum. With the purpose of making a larger amount of observation feasible in the training classes before the new students have to teach, two students are kept over from the preceding year for a month to assist the staff of the model school. Excessive reliance is placed on the efficacy of observation in moulding the practice of those in training. Time is given to it which could better be devoted to practise work placing more responsibility on the students.

Much emphasis is laid on the criticism lessons, in which a student teaches in the presence of the training class and his work is criticized by them. A weakness in the giving of these lessons is that isolated units of subject matter are taught by

students who know nothing of the particular capacities and interests of the individual pupils.

Regular practice teaching is usually small in amount, sometimes not exceeding fifty hours in two years, and is not very well supervised. However, the training institutions in some areas, by making the students do virtually all the teaching in the model school, have an excessive amount of practical work, which is scarcely supervised. Even if the staff of Indian training schools were ampler, the spirit of constructive supervision is often crowded out by the idea of fault-finding inspection.

Almost never is practice teaching provided in conditions resembling those of the village. It is well nigh impossible for the students to carry over teaching methods from well equipped schools to those with no equipment. Thus the best schools may be the worst practice ground, and bad schools the best. Some practice at least should be in schools like those in which the students are to teach. This may raise in their minds a host of questions which the training staff can help them answer. One of the greatest difficulties is how to teach two or more classes at the same time. In most provinces this problem is never faced during training, though Bombay and Assam give special instruction in meeting it.

The model schools are rarely large enough to provide an adequate amount of supervised practice. In Bengal's guru-training schools there are supposed to be only fifty boys in the practising school to forty students in training, and even fifty boys are not always obtained. The model schools connected with the United Provinces training classes are staffed mostly by training students. In such situations, the interests of the pupils cannot be safeguarded. They are constantly being experimented upon by blundering students, many of whom have been given insufficient preliminary work. The young pupils are specially harmed when they are taught only isolated lessons by the training students. This indifference to the pupil's needs is one of the worst possible habits into which teachers can fall.

A simple textbook on the principles of education is prescribed, but it may be too old fashioned. Usually too little attention is given to illustrating principles by practice

or showing the students how they can be applied in difficult situations.

How can conditions be improved?

1. *By giving the students plenty of practice in reading and in teaching reading.* This is the basis of all their work during training and afterwards. Every school should have a good library containing as many useful vernacular books and periodicals as are available and should form in their students the desire to read a great deal and the impulse to seek in books the answers to their questions. This can be done by frequent library periods, the assignment of special topics for investigation, report and class discussion and debates on current topics. The students need to be shown how to remedy the weaknesses in the teaching of reading as it is now carried on. The early introduction of simple words and sentences would let the children find some meaning in what they read instead of their having to memorize hundreds of nonsense syllables, as is the common custom. In addition to their teaching of reading in the model school, the students should also get practice in teaching reading to illiterate adults by the most lively and encouraging methods.¹

2. *By giving the students more background of general information in the subject-matter courses.* They require an understanding of how people live, some material beyond what they have already studied, which is to be related to what they are going to teach. Primary school subjects should be reviewed and the best methods shown for teaching them.

3. *By giving the training students abundant practice in expressing themselves in simple, correct speech* and in cultivating a pleasant teaching voice. They should be taught to tell a number of useful stories vividly. Correctness of speech may be insisted on, but not a highly literary style unintelligible to all but pundits. Literary and debating societies are most useful.

4. *By giving a very elementary course in child study* near the beginning of the training course, in order to kindle a warm appreciation of the nature of children and a keen desire to help the pupils to develop physically and mentally by wholesome activity and rational thought. The course would be based on observation and deal with such problems

¹ See chapter VI.c.

as the following: the original tendencies of the child and how to utilize them, habit formation, how children learn, making discipline educative. It would also consider the child's physical nature, and the diagnosis of his condition so as to know the best time and manner for presenting material without fatiguing him. The individual differences among children in mental, nervous, social and physical nature, and ways of observing and testing these, are most important

5. *By allowing the students at the beginning many chances to observe skilful teaching*, directing their attention toward definite points, and holding class discussions on what has been noted. Some observation would be continued through the course, especially of other schools during week-ends and short holidays. With observation may well be combined some participation in minor school duties, such as: taking care of the materials that are used, measuring and recording the height and weight of a number of children, and supervision of games and recess activities. This gives a degree of responsibility and allows closer contacts with the pupils.

6. *By providing well graded, supervised practice in teaching.* (a) After the time for observation, the students may be started on group teaching. (b) The next stage is supervised teaching of a whole class, of which there should be from 60 to 120 hours a year. In preparation for this the students will be required to draw up lesson plans that will help them in their teaching. The model school is the studio where youths practise the art of teaching under the careful guidance of master-teachers. There the bulk of the teaching will be done, but nearby schools can also be used if necessary. No more than half the teaching of any class should be done by students in training, so that a high educational standard can be maintained. (c) The third stage is to arrange for a student teaching the same children for two or three weeks at a time. He needs to know beforehand something about the class and how much ground has been covered. (d) Toward the end of the course the students are to get practice in teaching two classes simultaneously and in taking complete charge of a village school, or one conducted under rural conditions. This has been successfully done in Assam.

7. *By conducting a course on the principles of teaching and management* near the end of the training period, in order to

review and integrate all that has gone before. The course will embrace topics like the following: the meaning and aims of education, types of classroom exercises, teaching as contrasted with lecturing, best methods of teaching, the use of projects, questioning, assignments, how to foster independent study, and the selection and organization of subject matter, in order to secure strong incentives for work. It will also deal with the classification and marking of pupils, discipline, initiating and maintaining class routine, daily programmes and lesson plans, arrangement of the classroom and the utilization of maps, reading sheets and other forms of school equipment, the keeping of registers and the making of reports, the relation of the teacher to the school system and to education officials. For young men and women of little schooling, it is essential to illustrate principles profusely from concrete cases that the students themselves see. A high quality of teaching and organization in both the training and the model school is necessary to the success of this course.

E. WHAT ACTIVITIES PROMOTE HEALTH AND RECREATION?

What are the training schools doing to reach the goal of enabling their students to have sound health and physical and cultural recreation and to impart these to their future pupils? Courses in physiology and hygiene are given, but usually too little attention is paid to the formation of good health habits. What is done to familiarize the students with suitable games, folk dances and drills? Much time is given to physical drills and exercises, but if they are taught by the old fashioned drill master, the time is largely wasted. Well trained physical directors are now available, thanks to the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education in Madras and other institutions. Games are also played but not much instruction is given in how to teach suitable ones to children.

Aside from the above there is little organized recreation. In some provinces, excursions are regularly arranged. Occasionally instruction is given in Indian music.

What can we do to make things better?

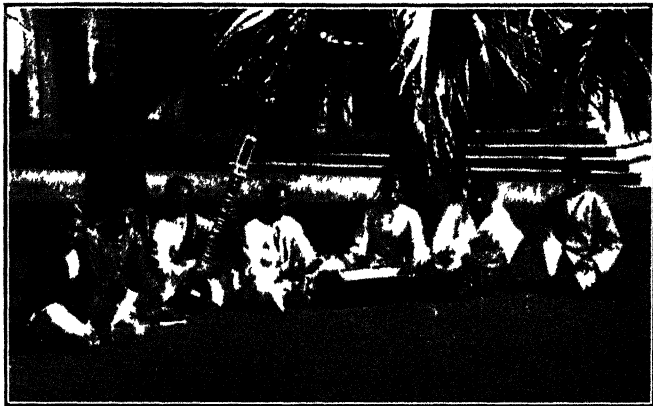
1. *Give courses in personal and school hygiene.* The teacher candidates need to be so strongly convinced of the supreme value of good health that they will loyally obey and teach the laws of sanitation. Village health conditions are appalling.

Many village children are afflicted with diseases that will go untended unless the teacher can recognize symptoms and treat minor ailments. Most students on entering training know little about health. They may be required to read Government bulletins on disease and sanitation. They need instruction about the whole place of sex in its relation to creative energy and family life. The most practical way of teaching health is to have the students co-operate in maintaining the school and its surroundings in sanitary condition and in promoting good health in the villages. The pupil teachers from Gakhar and Jullunder training schools 'have dug manure pits, popularized vaccination and inoculation, chlorinated wells, filled up ponds, tried quininization schemes, held health exhibitions, laid out village school gardens, cleaned streets, constructed drains and attended to all aspects of village ameliorization.'¹

2. *Devote several afternoons a week to supervised games and physical education.* On entrance all students should be physically examined and remedial measures taken. Games and sports play a vital part in forming character and team spirit. Some are to be played for the benefit of the students. Others are taken up with a view to teaching them to children. In this the students need practice in the model school. A suitable playground is necessary.

3. *Provide the students with a variety of wholesome cultural recreation,* such as contests between groups of students in story-telling, singing and acting in dramas on health and social welfare. Worthwhile excursions can be arranged. The students should be instructed in Indian music, as is done in the Central Provinces, including the singing of lyrics, play songs and work songs. Songs would also be adapted by the students. For those who have the natural facility, the playing of simple indigenous instruments will be encouraged. Through music the teacher can vastly enrich the lives of village children, for it is one form of art that is readily available to them.

¹ *Punjab*, 1927-32, p. 72.



MUSIC HATH CHARMS

These future teachers are given practice in entertaining and instructing the villagers and cultivating their taste for good music. Wholesome dramas also have great educative power.



TEACHERS' WIVES PREPARE TO LEAD

H. R. Fenger

While men undergo training their wives often learn domestic hygiene and useful handicrafts, so as to be of service to the village women. Such work has far reaching potentialities.

F. WHAT COURSES FOSTER PRACTICAL SKILL AND UNDERSTANDING?

In what degree does the training school aid its students to grow in skill and understanding of the practical activities of life and the facility to give these to others? Do they teach skill in the kind of number work that is useful to the villager and the teacher? Arithmetic work they give, but it is not always useful, since it includes much abstract and complicated material that will not be of any service.

Are the students led to appreciate and understand their natural environment and agriculture, pasturage and handicrafts? Do they acquire skill in using ordinary tools and methods? Nature study is taught, sometimes poorly, with more in it of books than of nature. School gardens are enthusiastically carried on in Bombay and the Punjab. Instruction about the people's occupations is often rather divorced from life. Madras training schools give some kind of vocational practice, such as weaving or book-binding.

Improvements may be suggested.

1. *Near the beginning give arithmetic courses*, first strengthening the students' mastery of what they have already learned and then showing the best ways to teach the primary syllabus in the village environment. Many students come to training diffident of their ability to do arithmetic. Such men need special coaching in the rudiments of the subject. They should be given this early, since arithmetic is one of the first subjects they will teach in the model school.

2. *Centre agricultural nature-study around actual cultivation of garden and field crops by the students themselves*. The work should include careful attention to animal and plant life and weather conditions as affecting agriculturists, and the best ways of leading children to accurate observation, so that they will get more enjoyment and stimulation from their environment. The students may go on occasional field trips. From such nature study the students can be led out to investigate man's adaptation to his environment and man's changing his environment. The geography of the locality and the province may well be studied from this point of view.

3. *Have the students participate in simple handicrafts adapted to the locality so as to understand the bearing of these*

processes on life They should be brought to do manual labour with a will, such as spinning, weaving, book-binding basket-making, carpentry and house-building. They need to see the educative possibilities of such occupations, read about how they were carried on at different times and places, and study what mentally stimulating handwork can be followed in the village schools with the use of local raw materials, such as fibres, clay and dyes.

4. *Have the students co-operate in budgetting and spending funds for food and other items*, thus learning to use their stipends without falling into extravagance or debt. For further practice in the wise handling of money it is well to start a co-operative society in the school for the purchase and sale of stationery, books and other necessities.

G. WHAT SPECIAL PREPARATION DO WOMEN NEED?

The number of trained women teachers in all India is extremely low, especially on the higher levels. Only recently have women and girls had enough schooling to undertake training. Women's training schools in 1931 had 7,082 students of whom 3,234 were in Madras. Of the 107 such institutions in rural areas, 38 are under private management, mostly that of Christian missions. Of the women in training schools in 1931, 43 per cent were Indian Christians, although this community forms but 2 per cent of the population.

Until recent years, women had little desire to enter teaching, since it was commonly considered socially undesirable. Training was thought less honourable than academic work. Homes for Hindu widows have been established in Madras, Bombay and Bengal to encourage teacher training among those who have been cut off forever from motherhood. As with other women, it is well-nigh impossible for them to live in the villages apart from their near relatives. Women's training courses resemble those for men, except that they include domestic economy and needlework.

Women teachers may be better prepared for their special work among village school girls and women. They should be instructed in cleanliness and sanitation in school and home, disease-prevention, motherly care of young children, the economical purchase and preparation of wholesome and varied food containing sufficient oils, minerals and vitamins. They may

be taught the kind of practical needle work and mending that they can later teach the village women. It is most desirable for the young women to take turns living and cooking in a simple cottage, furnished like a village home, for the neatness of which they would be responsible. In some schools, the girls take complete care of a young baby, which is excellent practice. They may be shown how to organize women's institutes and girls' clubs and given practice in so doing.

Think of how much could be accomplished for rural womanhood and childhood by a great band of women teachers, strong in character, eager in mind, with hearts aglow for sacrificial service in the dark corners of our dear country. What can you and I do to hasten the coming of that day?

CHAPTER VIII

TRAINING SCHOOLS ADVANCE SLOWLY

*A. What are the Best Kinds of Training Schools?
B. Who is to be Admitted for Training? C. How can an
Adequate Staff be Appointed and Used?*

A. WHAT ARE THE BEST KINDS OF TRAINING SCHOOLS?

The teacher is the key to any improvement in village education, than which no greater problem faces India. In provinces where sound training has been steadily promoted, the teaching is manifestly superior to what it is elsewhere. However, only half the primary teachers have had training, and less than two-thirds of those trained have passed the middle school.

The training colleges offer one-year graduate courses for persons who have received their bachelor's degree, and collegiate courses for matriculates and men who have had two years of college work. Though they do not prepare village teachers, they have a strategic role to play in the great struggle against ignorance and superstition, for they are preparing people who in various capacities are destined to shape and carry out India's educational policies. But they do not make the most of their possibilities, as they do not inspire their students to become progressive educational thinkers in living touch with the recent contributions of more advanced countries.

Training schools, which are charged with the momentous task of preparing village teachers, are of different grades. Those requiring the passing of the vernacular middle examination, based on eight or nine years of schooling in the vernacular, may be called higher-grade training schools, though in Bombay they are termed vernacular training colleges. Men go out from these schools to teach in middle and primary schools.

The training classes of the United Provinces are of the same grade, but they form an integral department of schools for general education. The cost per student is about the same as in efficient normal schools, or even more. They attract teachers who might not go long distances from their homes for training. But the students' outlook is very narrow since they have never left their own district, and the classes are too small to encourage emulation and the sharing of divergent viewpoints. These training classes have inherited from the pupil-teacher system, of which they are outgrowths, the weakness of encouraging students to imitate their masters blindly and merely to pick up a few 'tricks of the trade.' In the Punjab, attaching vernacular training classes to high schools has proved a failure, for it has dissipated energy and placed the future village teacher in an uncongenial atmosphere.

The preparation given in the lower-grade training schools is even more meagre. In Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, they are termed guru-training schools; and when attached to another institution, lower-grade training classes. These lower-grade training institutions require for admission only five or six years of vernacular work. The work of those they send out is said to be 'cruelly disappointing'.

All recognized training institutions are controlled directly or indirectly by the provincial departments of public instruction, which set the standards, lay down strict rules, and furnish part of the support. Inspectors of training schools are likely to have too small a vision of what these institutions can accomplish, and of the best way to do it. Except in rare cases, training schools have little or no freedom to break with customary forms, and make useful experiments.

The length of the training course varies with the province. It is usually one or two years. A recent tendency has been to drop the third year in those provinces that used to have it. Some of the lower-grade training classes last only six months, which is utterly inadequate. The Punjab course has been extended from one to two years and the 'experiment has proved a success in producing men of better qualifications, deeply interested in rural uplift.'¹

¹ *Punjab*, 1927-32, p. 67.

Men's training institutions for rural areas in 1934 numbered:

	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	AVERAGE SIZE
Government	243	12,986	53
District Board	47	611	13
Private Management ..	32	1,810	57
Total	322	15,407	48

The average enrolment has gone up by nearly 80 per cent in 11 years. Most of the small training classes run by district boards are located in the United Provinces. Aided schools have only 12 per cent of the students. In them the cost per student is less than in Government schools.

Women's rural training institutions in the same year numbered:

	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	AVERAGE SIZE
Government	60	2,600	43
District Board	1	19	19
Private Management ..	48	1,988	41
Total	109	4,607	42

The number of students is smaller than in men's schools, but here again it is larger than it was nine years before. The district boards have only one training institution for women, but aided agencies have 43 per cent of the students.

The money for these rural training schools came from the following sources:

	MFN'S SCHOOLS (THOUSANDS)	WOMEN'S SCHOOLS (THOUSANDS)
From Government ...	2,376.4	829 0
From District Boards ..	48 4	1.8
From Private Sources ...	195 9	190.1
Total	2,620.7	1,020 9

Government (and district board) funds are used not only in their own institutions but also in giving teaching grants and student stipends for privately managed schools. Government supplies 91 per cent of the money for men's schools and 81 per cent of that for women's schools.

The thousands of rupees spent on men's training schools in all areas has dropped and that on women's schools has risen in ten years, the total being three lakhs less:

		MEN'S SCHOOLS	WOMEN'S SCHOOLS	TOTAL
1922...	...	4,663	1,201	5,864
1932...	...	3,978	1,616	5,594

There was a gain until about 1930, when the heaviest blow fell. 'Financial stringency has borne heavily on training institutions, but retrenchment in this direction is an incentive to waste, not to economy. If "wastage" is to be reduced, the percentage of trained teachers should be largely increased in many provinces.'¹

The provinces of British India may be divided into two groups according to the average training school enrolment:

	MLN	WOMEN		MLN	WOMEN
United Provinces	20	9	Bombay	58	38
Bihar and Orissa	20	23	Punjab ...	87	47
Bengal ...	28	23	Central Provinces	105	42
Assam ...	35	11	Madras...	132	51
Group Average ...	26	17	Group Average ...	96	45

In the provinces with larger institutions there are usually two or more classes; if not, the classes will be too large for general discussions. In the United Provinces, the products of the small isolated training classes with a meagrely qualified and remunerated staff have not proved at all satisfactory. Many little classes have been combined into classes of thirty each under competent men and this is successful. By this process the average enrolment of their training institutions rose from 9 to 20 between 1923 and 1932.

In several provinces not enough new teachers are being trained to take the place of those who have died and resigned. In 1929 Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam all failed to measure up to this standard. In the same year, Bombay reported that it was trying to keep down expenses without injury by restricting the number of training school students, but this was the worst kind of uneconomic action masquerading in the guise of economy. The supply has not been increasing, for the India figures for students in training school have been: (1922) 22,774 men; (1927) 21,610 men and (1932) 21,686 men. In spite of the large primary-school growth, the number of new trained teachers has remained stationary. The situation is ominous.

¹ *India*, 1927-32, I, p. 153.

In the light of these conditions, what then are the best kinds of training schools?

1. *Higher-grade, not lower-grade schools*, for the latter have been a highly unsatisfactory makeshift. No teacher training worth the name can be given to raw boys without even eight or nine years of school work. The schools need maturer and more reliable teachers who can marry soon after training and make their permanent home in the village. As more candidates apply, the requirements should be steadily raised beyond the vernacular middle level. This process is taking place in Madras. Usually the farther men have studied, the better they learn to teach.

2. *Institutions with two years of training for prospective village teachers*. These men have extremely meagre general knowledge and intellectual background, since they have had only a few years of schooling. One year is far too short for such men to master superior teaching methods or to obtain the requisite amount of supervised practice teaching. For teachers who will be thrown so much on their own resources thorough, prolonged training is essential, as experience has shown. If a senior class stays on, a continuous tradition of school life is possible. The 1910 London County Conference on teacher training concluded: 'Actual experience proves that a two-year course is not only twice as good as a one-year course in the way of character building, but many times as good.'

3. *Schools well staffed, equipped and financed, having suitable buildings*. There is not money enough to build a large number of good institutions. The cost of good staff and buildings must be spread over more students, who will use the facilities to better advantage. Small training classes and schools may be combined into efficient institutions as large as the local practice facilities make possible. Each class or section may well have about thirty students, as a larger number hinders stimulating general discussions.

4. *Institutions supplying many more well prepared teachers for village schools*. Intensive effort is required so that, instead of half the primary teachers being trained, practically all will be well qualified for their essential service to society. 'Effective arrangements for training vernacular teachers must, generally speaking, precede the expansion of primary schools. . . . Money spent on the expansion or improvement of



H R Fieger

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING FOR TEACHERS

The students in training at Moga educate and help support themselves by manuring their field plots on which they raise crops. Training schools, to be effective, must be close to rural life



H R Fieger

SUN DRIED BRICKS BY THE THOUSAND

The same future teachers make bricks and erect buildings. These activities bring them into sympathetic touch with useful industrial arts and difficult village problems

middle vernacular schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on almost any other object.¹

5. *Schools emphasizing rural education and teaching practice and not academic courses.* A training class may well be connected with a school for general education only on condition that it is directed by a competent full-time staff member and that it has a separate room and programme. If it is merely a weak appendix to a school with divergent aims, it can do nothing for the welfare of India's village children. The training school should be located in or near the villages, so that the students can observe rural schools and do practice teaching in them. The more rural the atmosphere, the better will be the effect. Where possible, the training institution should be connected with a central school or rural welfare centre.

6. *Progressive schools with freedom and resources to experiment on new lines* regarding training school curriculum and organization, with a view to adapting them better to the needs of rural teaching. Reports of the results should go to other schools. Several training schools throughout India have been allowed such freedom and are making experiments of great promise.

B. WHO IS TO BE ADMITTED FOR TRAINING?

It holds as true for India as for America that, 'Rural school teaching actually demands a higher grade of teaching efficiency than any other branch of public service: the problems of successful organization and instruction are more varied and more difficult; the range of subject matter in which the teacher should be letter perfect is wider; supervision is less frequent and usually less competent; and the responsibilities of the teacher for community leadership are much heavier.'² However, the training of rural teachers in India has been slighted. If a man cannot do anything else he goes in for this. Mediocre and inferior men are now commonly found. Good applicants for training in some provinces are few, because better men are kept away by the wretched

¹ Hartog, p. 77.

² *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools*, p. 129.

conditions of village service. Bengal's guru-training schools admit students of very low qualifications. Many untrained teachers in service dislike leaving their jobs and undergoing the inconvenience of being trained, especially if they are married. To counteract this tendency and draw more people, training stipends of about five to ten rupees are paid by most Governments. Social restrictions sometimes keep down the number of applicants. The most striking instance is the low number of women applying for training, except among Indian Christians. The number of those applying varies widely according to the religious affiliation. In India's training schools, the following members of the main religions were enrolled in 1932:

		MEN	WOMEN
Hindus	... ..	13,901	2,456
Muslims	... ..	4,233	657
Indian Christians	... ..	2,666	3,086
Sikhs	... ..	263	174
Total (with others) ...		21,686	7,082

The Christians have a far larger per cent of the training school enrolment than of the general population, strikingly so among women.

In the selection of applicants, academic education is mainly considered. In recent years, more boys have been studying in the higher classes, and training institutions have grown more popular, so that now they can generally secure students who have passed the vernacular middle examination. For the United Provinces normal schools, candidates must have passed the middle examination tests in both vernaculars and also an examination given by the deputy inspector. Other training schools are also raising standards to good effect. Bombay has found that selection by local authorities makes for inefficiency and that the best way is to have a competition.

Teaching experience is either required or favourably considered, since men thus gain confidence in taking a class and understand the difficulties of teaching. Most men in training have done some teaching. A physical examination is demanded.

Age limits are laid down. The lower limit for entrance in

Madras is 14 years and in Bombay and the United Provinces 16. The upper limit is usually 25 years, the maximum being 30, although teachers of experience are exempted in Madras up to 35 years. If a selection is made, preference is granted to persons between 20 and 25.

A most careful selection of all candidates for training should be made, on the following basis: successful completion of the middle vernacular course, one year's practical experience in teaching school, rural background and interest, personal qualities of trustworthiness, energy and sense of vocation to serve village people. If the number of applicants is large, the training school may well give an entrance examination in the vernacular, arithmetic and general knowledge, so as to pick out the best. A year or two of teaching experience before training is most valuable because it raises many practical problems in the minds of the young men and shows whether they have the makings of a good teacher. The estimates of reliable people who have watched men work are extremely useful in evaluating their character. A strict medical examination is essential with a view to rejecting the unfit and correcting any defects. In some areas it is well to treat all the entering students for hookworm or malaria. If any men show themselves unfit for teaching service, they should be dropped as soon as possible.

C. HOW CAN AN ADEQUATE STAFF BE APPOINTED AND USED?

The staff of the training schools form one of the most crucial points in the whole educational system, for the students in training are at a very susceptible period, during which they are affected by the personal influence of every teacher for good or ill. The qualities acquired by the students will be inevitably passed on to the masses of children in the primary school. For this reason, training school staffs must be of the finest quality available.

In several provinces the qualifications required and the salaries paid are satisfactory. In the United Provinces training classes, the staff have the same academic qualifications as those whom they teach and draw a minimum of Rs. 20. Until a few years ago, the Bengal guru-training classes were controlled by incompetent men on Rs. 18 who were said to

have no idea of what class teaching or school organization meant, assisted by two men on Rs. 10 each. In the Central Provinces' the staffs are said to have qualifications scarcely better than the men they train. Everywhere the headmasters are far better paid than any other teachers.

It is difficult to secure the finest type of teachers for training staffs, because India has comparatively few such men. Well qualified teachers prefer positions in academic institutions, where the strain is less and the prestige greater.

The teachers in training schools for rural areas in 1934 numbered:

		NUMBER		AVERAGE PER SCHOOL	
		MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
Government	...	778	311	3.2	5.2
District Board	..	119	17	2.5	17.0
Private Management	...	189	252	6.0	5.4
Total	...	1,086	580	3.4	5.3

Privately managed men's training schools have twice as large staffs as those under Government or District Boards. There is no such divergence in women's institutions.

The average number of students per staff number in the various kinds of rural training schools was:

	MEN'S SCHOOLS		WOMEN'S SCHOOLS	
Government	...	16.7		8.4
District Board	...	5.1		1.1
Private Management	...	9.6		7.9
Average of Totals	...	14.2		7.9

If there are only 5 students for 3 teachers, as in District Board Schools, how can the right quality of staff be secured?

There is usually poor co-ordination between the theoretical and practical work of the school. Qualified masters of method have recently been appointed in charge of the United Provinces training schools and practising schools, having special responsibility for the students' practice. A common difficulty is that the staff is frequently out of touch with the village conditions under which their students are going to work.

What next steps can be taken to foster progress?

1. *Strengthen the staff by appointing men of proven teaching ability* and with the following qualifications: a live interest in village school problems, an understanding of progressive

education, a broad intellectual background and ability to inspire the loyal co-operation of others. To draw men of this type and free them from financial anxiety, good salaries are most necessary. Money could not be better spent.

2. *Closely connect the work of the training school with the model school.* The training staff may teach primary classes so that the students can watch them put their principles into practice. The teachers should have adequate time for preparation, for supervising the students' work and for conferences with them. The head of the model school may also teach the training students so as to co-ordinate their practical work with their courses on subject matter and educational principles.

3. *Keep the staff in living touch with the villages.* One member would be in charge of all the various forms of rural service that the students are doing. He might arrange short courses for village boys, as has been done with good results in Dr. Tagore's rural reconstruction work at Bolpur, where they are taught hygiene, first-aid, poultry-keeping and weaving. Another could periodically visit the old boys and bring them in for institutes to keep them growing professionally. It is good to send the training school teachers occasionally into field work as inspectors or supervisors, in order to keep them in close touch with the hard actualities of village work.

4. *Give the staff greater responsibility* for making plans and carrying them out. This will encourage initiative and independence of judgment, and help give momentum to the school. The teachers should also help to make up the serious lack of good vernacular books on education.

CHAPTER IX

SUPERVISION DEVELOPS TEACHERS IN SERVICE

- A. What are the Qualifications of Village Teachers?
B. How can Teachers Unite to Improve Their Work?
C. What are the Inspector's Functions? D. How can
Supervisors Foster Professional Growth?*

A. WHAT ARE THE QUALIFICATIONS OF VILLAGE TEACHERS?

George Herbert Palmer, the beloved Professor of Ethics at Harvard University, many years ago gave *the essentials of the ideal teacher*, and they have never been better stated. He shows that the work of the teacher is not to acquire knowledge, but to impart it to his pupils. His great need is an aptitude for *vicariousness*, that is, the imagination to put himself in the place of the learners and to catch their viewpoint. With sympathy he enters lives that to any other eye would seem dull and unintelligible, and enables them to grasp new truth. When a class fails, it is the teacher's fault; he has not adjusted his teaching to their minds. He must be a nimble servant, his head full of others' needs. The second quality of the skilful teacher is an *accumulated wealth of knowledge*, a bountiful supply on which he can draw in time of need, a broad intellectual background which frees him from fear and gives him an assurance of power. 'To be a great teacher one must be a great personality, and without ardent and individual tastes, the roots of our being are not fed.' The third essential is the *power to invigorate life through learning*. Cold analysis, impersonal abstract truth may repel. 'It needs to shine through a human being before it can exert its vital force on a young student.' There will appear in the true teacher 'a buoyant enthusiasm even in drudgery and an unshakable confidence that others must soon see and enjoy what has enriched himself.' The learner

should be called on to think, to observe, to form his own judgments, even at the risk of error and crudity.' Lastly, the ideal teacher must have a *readiness to be forgotten*. 'A teacher does not live for himself, but for his pupil and for the truth which he imparts, . . . fixing young attention on the proffered knowledge and not on anything so small as the one who brings it.' Then is it impossible for a man to reach a definite point where he will be a good teacher? Certainly. 'We can always be more imaginative, wealthy, stimulating, disinterested. Each year we creep a little nearer to our goal, only to find that a finished teacher is a contradiction in terms. Our reach will forever exceed our grasp. Yet what a delight in approximation!'¹

It is indeed a far cry from Dr. Palmer's ideal teacher to the actual teacher we see in a broken-down village school house in India, but we must keep our aims high if we are to make the maximum improvement of which we are capable in the teachers we meet. A fifth quality may be added, the village teacher must be a *progressive leader of rural people*, possessing their confidence because he has their interests at heart and is loyal to their best traditions.

How often are these qualities found? Only rarely, but when we do find a true teacher, he rejoices the heart. A number of years ago it was said that many Bengal village teachers could not correctly read or write the matter of Bengali readers,² and that the better qualified men were teaching only temporarily until they could find a higher salaried job. A very recent Government Review of Education in that province says that primary teachers are still overworked, underpaid, unqualified and untrained. Bad conditions are also found in other provinces. *Only half of all the primary teachers have had any training*, and less than that of the village primary teachers. Some teachers in publicly managed schools and many teachers in aided schools have had no training and only the scantiest education. A few years ago in Madras less than a fifth of the teacher managers had been trained. In the United Provinces, incompetent teachers are appointed to board primary schools for private reasons against the inspectors'

¹ Palmer, *The Teacher*, pp. 8-30.

² Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p. 43.

advice. Few men choose village teaching, but many have it forced upon them by stern necessity. Such teaching is despised and considered unworthy of being done by well paid and well qualified men. The modern teacher receives only a small fraction of the respect formerly attaching to the guru.

The difficulties of the village teacher are many, including the appalling conditions mentioned in the First Enquiry. The Bengal Government's review of August, 1935, speaks of his being confronted by these impossible problems: to teach three classes single-handed, to live on six to eight rupees a month, to hold the attention of listless pupils whose parents are indifferent to education, to maintain his own keenness when he is isolated with only one visit a year from the inspector. The same conditions, except perhaps the lowness of the salary, hold true in most provinces. The *Hartog Committee Report* (page 37) says: 'Women teachers cannot as a rule live in the villages, unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable.'

How many primary teachers worked in rural areas in 1934?

MANAGEMENT		BOYS' SCHOOLS	GIRLS' SCHOOLS
Government	...	2,766	465
District Board	...	117,408	10,838
Privately Managed	..	145,906	23,949
Total	...	266,080	35,252

Between 1927 and 1934 the per cent of trained teachers in primary schools for boys (including urban areas) rose from 44 to 53, and in primary schools for girls from 45 to 54. Of the trained teachers, less than 61 per cent have passed the vernacular middle examination. The per cents vary with the province:

	BOYS' SCHOOLS		GIRLS' SCHOOLS
Punjab ...	73	Madras ...	76
United Provinces...	66	Bombay ...	52 1
Madras ...	59	Central Provinces	49
Central Provinces	59	Punjab . .	39
Bihar and Orissa .	49	Bihar and Orissa ...	27
Bombay ...	47	Assam ...	16
Assam ...	32	Bengal ...	12
Bengal ...	28	United Provinces...	11

It is strange that the United Provinces has such a high figure for boys' schools and such a low one for girls, while

the opposite is true in the case of Bombay. Good training produces valuable results. Punjab teachers are now found to be more open to suggestion, with the result that their pupils are more lively and less inclined to take things for granted. The teachers in the United Provinces also are said to use more interesting methods of teaching than formerly.

A large majority of those who go through the training courses pass the examination and get a certificate. Many of those who fail also find work. A probationary period is usually required before certificates are made permanent. For example, Madras probationary certificates are given only to those passing the provincial training-school examination. The certificates cannot be completed, that is, made permanent, without at least eighteen months of satisfactory service in a recognized school and the passing of a practical test given by an inspecting officer. If their certificates are not completed within three years, the teachers cease to enjoy the status of trained teachers and draw less grant. A certification system of this kind is most valuable, provided that grants are determined largely with reference to the qualifications of teachers. After a reasonable length of time, no grants should be paid to any one without some grade of certificate.

The incentive for teachers to improve their qualifications and continue in educational work may be strengthened by giving higher salaries and promotions to those men and women who pass further examinations and do excellent work, and by refusing increments to those who do nothing to improve their professional qualifications for several years. To carry out this proposal, regular ways for teachers to improve themselves would have to be provided, such as holding summer schools, teachers' institutes, and assigning good educational books in the vernacular for teachers to read.

Few village primary teachers receive more than the barest living wage. Salaries in some provinces rose until serious retrenchment struck India around 1930, since when they have remained stationary or gone down. Bengal primary headmasters receive ten, and other teachers eight rupees a month, which is as low as the rates go for publicly managed schools. Many village teachers are forced to eke out the pittance they receive by various means, such as being village postmaster or licensed quinine vendor, writing letters for illiterates,

conducting small business ventures, or receiving free food from their patrons. The teaching grants are sometimes graded according to the training of the teacher, but in other cases the differences are insignificant.

From what has been said, it is apparent that the words of Lord Meston, uttered twenty years ago when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, still largely hold true: 'The inadequacy of the present pay and the poverty of qualification in the present teachers in primary schools, are admitted on all hands. A higher standard of intelligence and training and consequently a decent living wage, are indispensable conditions to a living scheme of primary education, complete in itself and endowing the pupil with something of permanent value to him in after life. From whatever aspect the future of primary schools is regarded, it is certain that their staff will have to be better qualified and better paid.'

B. HOW CAN TEACHERS UNITE TO IMPROVE THEIR WORK?

Many teachers labour alone without any sense that they are important units in the great campaign of light against darkness. They miss the joy of talking over their difficulties and successes with men of kindred spirit. Teachers' meetings or conferences are conducted by the inspecting officers more frequently in some areas than in others. In Madras there is usually such a meeting every month for each group of schools. Model lessons are given and papers read on educational topics. The deputy inspector requires the attendance of all teachers, including those under private management. Many Christian missions conduct similar meetings for their teachers. If these meetings are vital and practical, they can be of real value in making the teachers more effective in their work.

Teachers' institutes, refresher courses and summer schools are also occasionally held, but far too rarely. It would be well for all teachers to have the benefit of them for one or two weeks every year. Provision is made in the Philippines and Mexico for all teachers to have a month's intensive study of education each year; the usefulness of this is shown in the high quality of the teaching. Poorly qualified men

have special need for such further training and refreshment, so that they will keep growing.

Even more valuable than the courses held for teachers are the organizations which they themselves co-operate in conducting. Teachers' associations have multiplied and strengthened, making excellent progress in greater solidarity and efficiency among teachers. A number of years ago Madras alone had 3,000 such associations, and since then the number has grown. Dr. Sandiford writes of a genuine professional spirit being 'fostered by the various teachers' associations of England, which play such an important part in the educational affairs of the country.'¹ These organizations should be heartily encouraged by all possible means. The results achieved by the National Education Association of America in co-operation with the associations of the 48 States are nothing short of amazing:

	1917	1931
Members of the National Association	10,000	220,149
Members of State Associations ...	200,000	713,240
Summer School Attendance ...	40,000	275,000
State Teachers' Colleges ...	25	140
Average Certification Requirements for Teachers, Graduation from:		
... High School		College
Average Teacher's Salary, dollars per year ...	635	1,440
State Laws on Teacher Tenure ..	5	20
State Systems of Retirement...	5	22

C. WHAT ARE THE INSPECTOR'S FUNCTIONS ?

In an educational system in which so few schools are managed by the Departments of Public Instruction and so many by private agencies and local boards, and in which large grants are given to thousands of institutions, careful inspection is essential. The inspector must see whether every school is being honestly and efficiently run. If it is, he praises and rewards the management. If not, he must censure and punish it. For aided schools, he has to recommend the amount of grant to be paid. It is no easy matter to render impartial judgments in the face of many strong, conflicting claims.

All recognized primary schools have to be inspected once

¹ *Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, p. 150.

or twice a year. The inspection is done under the provincial educational departments, except that in Bombay and United Provinces the inspectors are responsible to the educational committees of local boards, and in Central Provinces to local boards themselves. The members of these bodies are often so busied with political measures and their own private concerns, that they devote inadequate attention to village schools. At best the teacher can expect little professional help from local boards.

The superior inspecting staff visit colleges and high schools, leaving the poorest qualified men to inspect the village schools. The *Hartog Committee Report* (page 299) speaks of there being 'in most provinces large numbers of untrained inspectors of all grades.' This is not the case in Madras or Punjab. Even where they have good academic qualifications, they may not have a deep interest in the work of teaching. Very few have time for more than a cursory inspection. The average number of schools annually visited by an inspector is: Central Provinces, 61; Punjab, 80; United Provinces, 100; Assam, 104; Bihar and Orissa, 111; Madras, 160; and Bengal, 177.

Some girls' primary schools are still inspected by men, but the tendency is to replace them with women. Some of the inspectresses are even more overworked than the inspectors. Bengal has two inspectresses and twelve assistants for over 17,000 girls' schools.

The inspecting officers secure accuracy in certain activities and uniformity in details, and criticize in passing a few detached defects or breaches of regulations usually without showing how they can be remedied. The inspecting officers are interested in furniture, in attendance and occasionally in registers. But with regard to the real function of the school, teaching, and its real product, education, they manifest the smallest enthusiasm.¹ What Dr C. P. Loram says of the South African system of inspection also applies to India: 'Its inherent wrongness is that it puts teacher and inspector in a wrong relation to one another. There is a suspicion of espionage—especially when so-called "surprise" visits are paid—which is hurtful to education. The objective of both

¹ Michael West, *Education*, p. 163.

the teacher and the inspector should be the same, and the inspector, from his superior training, experience and knowledge, should take the attitude of friend and adviser, and not that of detective ¹

A pressing need is for more of the right kind of inspecting officers, who have a firm grasp of educational theory and practice, and who can approach teachers in a friendly yet impartial manner, so as to improve their teaching. The best inspectors will also perform some of the functions of supervision, which are now described.

D. HOW CAN SUPERVISORS FOSTER PROFESSIONAL GROWTH?

Why does the village school teacher need supervision? Every teacher, no matter how far he has studied and how well he has been trained, requires helpful counsel and encouragement in order that he may keep doing his best work. Graduate teachers in a high school have an experienced headmaster to supervise them; how much more does the ill-equipped rural teacher, facing single-handed a host of difficult problems, need friendly guidance so that he will not grow discouraged and his work degenerate into unthinking routine, especially when he is so isolated amid an uninspiring environment!

What is true supervision? It is *the teaching of teachers, so that they improve their instruction*. It is always educative in character and friendly in spirit. If the supervisor criticizes as an outsider, he cannot get to the bottom of the teacher's real problems, but if he habitually acts as an experienced friend, the teacher will open his heart and mind and thus begin to catch new ideas and a new spirit. Supervision, like all good teaching, discovers each teacher's purposes and makes them stronger and more worthy. It is a life-giving process that changes habits of teaching, not a deadening procedure that tries to alter appearances by means of compulsion. It is not the hasty pouring in of second-hand or easy solutions, but patient guidance enabling teachers to think through their hard problems ² The supervisor is appointed to serve the teacher, the children and the community; they do not exist to serve or please him.

¹ *Education of the South African Native*, p. 85.

² See appendices A and C.

True supervision thus differs radically from inspection, as the inspector in his haste may breed strain and fear, but the supervisor spreads calm and hope. The right kind of inspection is essential in its own sphere, but it must not be allowed to usurp the place of supervision and to crowd it out.

Skilful trained teachers with at least three years of experience are needed as supervisors, men and women of matriculate grade, if possible. Thirty to forty schools are all that one person can effectively supervise. It is essential not to place on the supervisor a heavy load of inspectorial and administrative work.

The supervisor should announce the time of his visits, take time in helping the teachers to meet their problems, and base his suggestions on their own reasonableness rather than on external authority or coercion. His work may be directed toward the attainment of a few objectives at a time. He should develop a demonstration school of fine quality where he can gather the teachers from the surrounding area every few months, for them to observe good teaching, discuss educational questions that concern them, and work out attainable standards for village schools. The distribution of sample charts, equipment, duplicated and printed material will be of real assistance to the teachers.

Genuine supervision of this kind can be made to pay rich educational returns on the money spent. In order to get a supervisor, it is worthwhile closing some schools. Dr. M. S. Pittman, on the basis of his supervision experiment in America, came to the following conclusion: '(a) Children in supervised schools advanced approximately 194 per cent as far, during the seven months in the particular functions under investigation, as did the children with whom they were compared. (b) Upon this as a basis, and assuming the social value of this type of educational material, the value of the service of one supervisor, who would produce such a difference in the total supervised, would be 45,302 dollars per school year for that service,' which is many times his salary.¹ The efficient Philippine educational system in 1923 had 657 supervisors for its 24,190 elementary and 933 secondary teachers, or one supervisor for every 38 teachers.

¹ See his stimulating book, *The Value of School Supervision*.



H R Fenger

THE SUPERVISOR'S OPPORTUNITY

Schools where children now spend their time memorizing one or two books offer fertile ground for the visiting teacher to demonstrate better methods and give friendly guidance

In Christian mission schools, pastors and missionaries make frequent visits to their schools. These can be of great value to the teachers if thorough supervision is done by such men and if they have been prepared for the work by a study of the educative process.

Training schools can also be of much service to their old boys if they can send one of the staff to visit them, help them in the solution of their special problems, give them helpful books and bulletins in the vernacular, and follow the other methods already mentioned. New teachers going out fresh from training should be located if possible where they can have the guidance of an experienced teacher for a year or so, in order to get a good start on right paths of education and village service.

Lonely teachers are cheered by a person visiting their schools as a friend to give a word of encouragement and suggestion. But many pass by the village school on the other side. Why do we not become Good Samaritans? We will if our love for India is genuine.

EPILOGUE

OF the many suggestions offered in this book, certain are specially vital to modern India. *In some of these directions real progress can be made without large expenditure.* Small village schools in the same locality can be easily combined into better staffed and more efficient institutions. The same is true of the smallest training schools. Conferences can be held for the various people engaged in village education and welfare work so they can pool their experience and learn from each other. Greater attention can be given to the progress of children in the two lowest classes. The curriculum may be greatly improved. The grants of poorly qualified, ineffective teachers may be reduced and their services dispensed with. Wise plans may be made for the more effective use of all the funds available for education.

More money is required and deserved in order to carry out *long-term programmes for reforming and extending village education and increasing the efficiency of teachers through more adequate training and supervision.* Effective demonstration schools at central points will be an important part of this. If the people of the locality and the district see the possibilities of education, they will give heartier support to the schools. In formulating and executing such programmes, it is essential to grasp firmly the main guiding principles, some of which are here given.

The village child stands at the centre of India's life, and on his improvement depends all lasting progress. The present crisis can be satisfactorily met and surmounted only if the rural child is accorded the respect, growth and education which are his due. That he may develop his highest capacities and utilize his greatest abilities for society, he needs to attend the right kind of school for at least five years. The school system, the buildings, the inspectors and the teachers all exist to promote the welfare of the little boy or girl.

In order that the village child may be well-educated, the materials of instruction must be closely related to actual rural needs for better livelihood, sounder health and closer social life. That he may develop amid wholesome surroundings, the level of village life must be raised. Lovers of India have the great opportunity of *striving to make all branches of rural welfare advance simultaneously*. This can best be done through enabling the villagers to co-operate whole-heartedly with each other and thus work toward a co-operative commonwealth instead of the present system of jealous exclusiveness and organized greed.

Together with efforts for many-sided rural welfare needs to go a campaign to secure *strong popular backing and support of education* among people of various provinces, districts and localities, so that they will pay more through taxes and fees to improve the quality of their children's education. When they see and understand the advantages of really good primary education schools, they will become willing to sacrifice for this, just as they have in order to send their boys and girls to high school and college.

Even with a view to secure popular support, standards must not be let down. *Hearty adherence to thorough and genuine work and a vigorous avoidance of all that is superficial, specious and shoddy*, form the foundation of true education. Although any schooling at all is commonly assumed to be better than none, in reality, slovenly or fraudulent work does far more harm than good. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. If any village school or training institution fails to elevate and strengthen every side of its students' lives—physical, intellectual and social—its influence will go for little. Learners require practice in putting their best efforts into work for the welfare of their group, village and country.

The administrators of a system usually have a strong prejudice in favour of keeping things as they are. Every group has its own special ends to promote. In order to see clearly the present conditions and the best goals, *careful scientific investigations and experiments are necessary*. Mistakes and defects must be frankly and fearlessly analyzed before they can be overcome. Standardized tests of intelligence and proficiency in school subjects need to be worked out for the various languages.

Continuity of policy and effort is essential in order that promising activities can be carried to completion with constantly increasing effectiveness. Lack of continuity spells failure. Steadiness will be facilitated by various persons co-operating for ends that are clearly conceived and solidly based on permanent facts. Money is foolishly wasted where it is spent to inaugurate something that is later allowed to lapse.

It is necessary to concentrate efforts and financial resources on work that can actually be done with thoroughness and continuity. To undertake more work than gives definite promise of being carried to a successful conclusion is a gross blunder. A small amount of genuine progress that forms a solid basis for further growth is far better than much hollow change that appears well only in printed reports. Resolute concentration on larger and more effective village schools, not only improves the quality, but saves money through cutting down overhead expenditure.

The success of even the best system or institution depends on the people in charge. *The reform of village life and education rests with securing the right kind of teachers.* Conditions of service must be such as to draw the right kind of men and women for this form of work, which is essential to passing on the full cultural heritage. After the best men are selected, they must receive adequate preparation centring in practice teaching and village uplift. When they are in service, they must be well supervised in a friendly spirit in order to keep their minds awake and growing.

How then can we find enough of the right kind of persons for teachers' work? We need men deeply interested in their work, willing to sacrifice for it, honest in the performance of duty, and loving in their relations with children. How can we imbue men with such qualities? We must start with ourselves, for we cannot help others to be honest unless we are thorough-going in our own honesty. We cannot give away qualities that we do not have, as James Russell Lowell says:

Be noble! and the nobleness that lies
In other men, sleeping but never dead,
Will rise in majesty to meet thine own.

We long to find strength of character, both in others and in ourselves, but what do we generally see? Weak, divided

personalities. How can they be united, purified, strengthened? Not by our unsteady efforts, but by putting ourselves completely in God's control and letting Him work in us. Arthur Mayhew in his searching book, *The Education of India*, concludes: 'Indian personality and life as a whole will not be intimately affected by any education which is not animated by religion. The forces that oppose progress can be restrained and diverted only by a religion more vital than those on which they depend for sanction.' He says further, 'An educational system, which is to be in the full sense morally effective, must rest on a religious foundation. . . . The writer's personal view is that moral progress in India depends on the gradual transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ.'

In closing, I ask to be allowed a personal word, without which I would not be true to the highest I know. In order to have such a realization of God as will revolutionize character, I see no better way, in fact no other satisfactory way, than through the revelation made by Christ in His life, death and resurrection. He has unified my divided life, freed me from the power of sin, and enabled me to be of some service to my fellow men. I have seen Him do the same in the lives of many friends. As far as I can see, He alone is strong enough to enable us to find and pass on to teachers an experience of God that will transform men and institutions and thus bring in the new day of better schools for village India.

APPENDIX A¹

HOW CAN WE BRING OUR THEORIES INTO PRACTICE?

MRS. VICTOR MCCAULEY, M.A.

He would be a wise person, indeed, who could answer to our satisfaction the above question with reference to our village schools. Instead of trying to answer it, let us consider together some of our problems and seek to arrive at a solution of them. All of us are in the experimental stage in village school work. It is true these experiments have been going on for more than eighty years in some Missions, but up to the present time a successful village school in which the people of the community have learned to read and have remained literate is all too rare in most parts of our Andhra Desa.

In this paper the village school considered is the small third or fourth class school in the outcaste hamlet of the mass-movement area. Thousands of such schools have been established in the Telugu country. Lakhs of rupees have been spent on their maintenance, yet the sad fact remains that very few children in each school ever learn to read satisfactorily; most of those who do, drift back into illiteracy, and the outcaste hamlets remain practically illiterate.

We all have our theories as to what constitutes a good school. How can we put them into practice? How can we bring into existence a village school in which the children attend with a fair degree of regularity, are promoted after one year in each class, continue literate throughout the rest of their lives, and become intelligent members of the community?

¹ This and Appendices B and C were given as addresses at the Rural Education Conference, Madras, August, 1928.

Only such means as have actually been tried will be suggested in this paper

1. *The teacher's interest must be aroused.* Our young teachers feel, when coming from the training school and entering a little village school, that the gulf between what they learned in the training school and what they find in the village school is abysmal. They believe it is one which cannot be crossed by them. They have left the fine stone structure of the training school building; they have come to the mud walls and palm-leaf roof of the village schoolhouse. They have left the well decorated walls of their training school building; they have come to the cobweb-covered, dull mud walls of their village schoolhouse. They have left the expensive, Western-made science apparatus of the training school; they have come to teach with sticks, stones, seeds and shells. They have left the well equipped training school library; they have come into a school which possesses not a single book. Is it any wonder that many of our teachers, after a brave try, drift back into the old ways of the teachers before them and say, 'Modern methods cannot be used here. They are all right for the town school; in the village they are impossible'? The teachers too often look upon what they have learned in the training school as a piece of theory to be left in the school, not as something which they are to take with them to put into everyday practice.

When the young teacher comes from the training school to his work, before he is permitted to go to his school, his superior or supervisor should have a serious, personal talk with him about his future work, explain to him its problems and difficulties, give him some idea of what the village school can become, and pray with him for special blessing on him and his work. If possible, the young teacher should be encouraged to pay a visit to some successful village school before he goes to his own school. This will give him an ideal, a goal toward which to work.

In almost every case the young teacher, just out of training school, is eager to make good and is pleased to receive and follow valuable suggestions. It is well for the supervisor to acquaint himself with the obstacles to be faced by the teacher, to advise him on the best way of overcoming them and to call the elders of the village together and bespeak their hearty

co-operation for the young teacher. In some instances, new teachers have asked the supervisor to visit their schools during the first week of their work, 'in order that progress might be observed thereafter.'

In the case of the older teachers, where lethargy and fixed ideas are to be supplanted by energy and new ideas, one of the best methods found so far has been the *ten days' summer school*. This is held during the planting season, when most of the school children are busy in the fields and the teachers themselves have time to come to the mission station to attend school. During those ten days lessons are given regularly on the best methods of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and the Bible; on the value of having a school garden—be it ever so small; on the need of teaching children cleanliness, and the value of the school to the community as a whole.

Of course, there are always some teachers who will argue strenuously against any innovation—always some with water-tight compartments in their brains, admitting no new ideas—but we have found that nine out of ten of even the laziest teachers will make some effort to do more for his school children, if (1) he is spoken to personally and privately about the possibilities of his school; (2) if he is encouraged to do more and to be more for the sake of his school children; and (3) if he is visited and encouraged frequently. Without this help it is difficult for most teachers to keep up sustained interest and effort in the midst of very depressing surroundings.

It would be well if each of our training institutions could have an additional member on the staff, so that one member of the staff could always be free for supervision work. The masters could take turns in supervising, thus learning the real needs of the village schools and going from centre to centre, holding special classes for the teachers. The teacher of the village school needs to be kept in touch with the latest methods taught by the training school; and the training school teachers, in turn, need to be in constant contact with the village teacher and his problems.

The supervisor of village schools should always be on the look out for books which will be of value to the village teachers, and should point out to them specially helpful

portions. As a rule, it is difficult to get the village teacher to read anything. If it is explained to him that by reading such a book he can improve his school and draw more grant thereby, he will almost certainly read that book.

Another method which has been found to be successful is to give the teachers a *definite syllabus divided into months*, to begin the month following the inspection last held. Such a syllabus cannot be labelled according to the calendar months, as the inspection of a large number of schools over a large area must of necessity fall in many different months. For instance, if the school inspection takes place in July, the new syllabus for the various classes must be introduced the first of August. Often teachers, especially those who are untrained, have a very hazy idea as to just what is expected of them. They need definite instruction, a definite syllabus, and then definite encouragement—and guidance; all of which, of course, mean constant and patient supervision.

The project method should be attempted by the village teacher in a very simple, elementary way, by one who has initiative enough to make use of the materials he finds in the village itself. It need not always be used with beginners in the ordinary village.

2. *The village child's interest must be aroused.* So far we have considered only the teacher. Now let us turn to the village child. His eyes are upturned to ours in trustful expectancy. *How shall we teach him? First of all, we must love him.* No matter if his face is dirty and his hair uncombed; no matter if his little brown body is devoid of clothes; his appeal to us is all the greater because of his need of us. The Indian teacher has one tremendous advantage over the teacher of the West. The teacher in Europe or America knows that his school children have a thousand distractions and outside interests; here in India the life of the ordinary village child is so restricted in interest that the teacher has but to draw a picture or to hold up a simple picture card and he at once has the undivided attention of all his pupils.

On account of the poverty of the children, many of them must herd cattle and cannot attend school regularly; yet even this difficulty has been largely overcome where the children have become sufficiently interested. Cases could be cited

where a poor teacher has avowed that the children in a certain village would not come to school nor would their parents send them. But in that very same village, when there arrived on the scene a new teacher who took a keen interest in the children, they were eager to come to school and their parents would make any sacrifice so that their children might attend. Both children and parents realise the value of a school in which the children actually *learn* something.

The old method of teaching the alphabet for weeks and months—yes, even for *years*—in some schools deadens the child's interest. In many instances a child will spend two or three years in the first class and even then not be able to read a single word. The very first day that a child comes to school he should be taught a simple two-letter word. He should learn to recognize each letter. By the end of the first week, a child of only average ability can learn five simple two-letter words. He can also recognize the ten letters which constitute these words. Then the teacher should teach the child as many words as possible, using only those ten letters. In the same way simple addition and subtraction can be taught to the little child the very first week that he comes to school. One of the most deadening features of our village schools is the way teachers let little children sit unheeded for months at a time. The child thus becomes accustomed to playing instead of learning. He learns *not to pay attention*, and his mind is irreparably harmed. The bringing to school, of tiny children, two and three years old, is not only a hindrance to the older children, but does positive harm to the little ones by letting them learn that school is a place where they may play and do not need to learn anything. The teacher should kindly but firmly insist that his school is not a day nursery, where village mothers may deposit their babies for the day while they go off to the fields.

The very first day that a child comes to school he should be taught some simple verses, such as 'God is love,' or 'The Lord is my Shepherd.' Simple action songs taught to the new pupils will be much enjoyed by the children. All these new words, verses and songs will be repeated to the parents at home, and the whole community will soon become actively interested in the work of the school and the success of the teacher.

Special emphasis has been placed on putting our theories into practice in the *first class*. The reason for this is the appalling neglect of the first class children. Once established in the habit of attending school, of being interested in the teacher and having passed the first class, the child usually goes on to the second and third classes. It is in the first class that he is neglected, becomes dull and stupid for lack of attention, and gradually stops coming altogether.

When we consider the time, pains and money spent on first-grade children in the West, we who have charge of village schools should spare no effort to bring to our little Indian children the charm and fascination of school life which we know is possible for them. Let us see that they are launched properly. Then in the higher classes they will find it easier to learn.

Our ideal is that the village school should give a good primary education to the children through the fourth class, foster in them a love for reading; then continue to supply them with reading matter after they have finished the fourth class; and finally raise up in the hamlet an intelligent community with men and women of fine character.

These village schools are in our hands. The secret of making them of positive value to India is to hold *summer schools* for the teachers; to give them a *definite syllabus*; and then lastly—and most important of all—to give them *constant and patient supervision*.

APPENDIX B

SOME PRACTICAL PROJECTS

MISS A. B. VAN DOREN, M.A.

A complaint sometimes brought against the project method is that in many cases the projects introduced are artificial, and in some cases useless. Successive classes build houses which in turn have to be demolished to make way for the work of the next year. In some cases it may be possible to avoid these difficulties by carrying on as projects the *production of equipment really needed in school*. In village schools, which are bare of furniture and equipment, why should not the project take the form of things actually required for carrying on school activities?

As examples of such projects, one may mention the plans of a certain rural school in Burma. On Saturday morning the teacher and the older children co-operate in actually making the equipment that is necessary for the school. One morning they worked at cutting paper for school notebooks and stitching these together, and were able to sell the product at half the bazaar price. The next Saturday the village carpenter came and helped the boys to make a much-needed cupboard, in which books and equipment might be kept. The first products in this case will doubtless be somewhat crude, compared with the more careful workmanship produced by Sloyd and other formal methods of teaching. The motive, however, is so real and compelling that the teacher may feel assured of arousing genuine interest and purpose in the children, and hence of evoking an educational value greater than that produced by work mechanically perfect but disconnected with the needs and life of the school. This experiment was to be followed up by other attempts at necessary furniture.

The same school plans to attempt the *preparation of*

simple textbooks for the teaching of reading and arithmetic to the lower classes of the school. The teachers will plan easy lessons based on village life, so that books will be village-centred rather than town-centred. The sums and sentences which the teachers produce will be copied neatly by the older children in their transcription period. Little illustrations will be added by the children who take delight in drawing. The sheets will then be sewed together and bound in an inexpensive cover. Thus they help to produce text-books at almost no expense, and at the same time to provide subject matter well adapted to the needs of the children.

Various types of *weaving and basket-making* may be utilised for the supply of school requirements. A school in the Central Provinces, where hemp is plentiful, weaves mats on which the children sit, to protect themselves from the chill of the stone floor. In other places bamboo, reed, or grass mats can be woven for the same purpose. In Burmese schoolhouses each child needs a reed mat before him to keep his pencils, seeds, sticks, etc., from dropping through the cracks in the bamboo floor. In India children will delight in making themselves baskets or paper boxes in which to keep their pens, pencils, seeds and sticks. Children in the higher classes in geography may co-operate with their teachers in making sets of maps for the wall. Ordinary globes are far too expensive to be bought for village schools. Quite a satisfactory substitute can be made by setting an earthen pot on its mouth, and drawing and then colouring the continents and oceans. No school need do without a globe when one can be produced for four annas. Large relief maps of clay can be made in a corner of a room and coloured with bazaar paints, or can be laid out in the playground with the outlines indicated by lines of flowering plants of various colours. One school in South India walled its playground with a row of stones alternately red-washed and white-washed in ones, twos, threes, etc., to provide a large and delightful means of learning addition tables. A school that can afford coloured paper can produce fascinating wall friezes of elephants, camels, palm-trees and other decorations belonging to their Indian environment.

The 'Seed Project' correlates nature study, needlework and number work. Children during their Saturdays and

holidays may be asked to explore the jungles for all possible varieties of seeds of various sizes and colours. Children who live at the seaside may add or substitute collections of tiny shells. The sewing classes will then make small bags of various sizes and colours. Most needlework classes practise ornamental stitches of sorts on small bits of cloth, which are of no use and eventually find their way into the waste-paper basket. The same amount of cloth and practice sewing will produce bags which will hold seeds in tens, twenties, fifties and one hundreds, and which will be most useful in teaching number combinations to children in the lower classes.

A sewing class in a Bombay social centre carries out a *doll project*. The children who are learning to sew are presented with an undressed doll, for which they make a complete outfit of clothing suitable for an Indian child in their own circumstances. Each child is then given a small bamboo basket to serve as the doll's bed, and is taught to make sheets, pillows and pillow-cases, a mattress, and a mosquito curtain. When completed, the whole outfit is taken home by the child. The difference in 'interest' between learning sewing on useless bits of cloth and for the supply of all the needs of a much-beloved 'own' doll need not be dwelt upon. The usefulness of this project might be further increased by having the children themselves weave the baskets for the dolls' beds. In a girls' high school, older girls who are studying household science carry out a similar project in the form of a complete layette of baby clothes and bedding.

The boys at Shantiniketan, with the help of their teacher, were able to build a bridge over a stream in their compound. Would it not be possible for other classes, with similar help, to put up a poultry shed, or cattle shed, or even a small class building or cottage hostel, as has already been done in the boys' school at Asansol in Bengal?

One other practical project should be noted. At a village school in the Central Provinces, the *boys raise crops of grain* on a piece of land belonging to the school. The question arose as to what should be done with the grain in hand. They realised that among the day-scholars were a number of boys from poor families who walked several miles to school, but had no morning meal. It was bad for them to work

during the morning session on empty stomachs, and it was therefore decided to utilise the school grain for feeding the hungry pupils in the school.

The complaint has been made that students who have been trained in the project method, or in any other modern method fail to make use of these new ways when they begin their work in village schools. Is not one reason for this failure that they have been trained under conditions that are more or less ideal? From such conditions they are suddenly put down in a village school building, which has in it nothing at all of the means they have learned to depend on for good teaching. Is it any wonder that the methods learned do not transfer to these new situations? Is it any wonder that the teacher becomes utterly discouraged in attempting new methods under such conditions? One may almost say that the better the training school, the worse is it for the teacher. I would therefore suggest that, in the case of teachers who are being trained to meet rural situations, the training school should have attached to it a schoolhouse built exactly on the model of the average village school of the district. It should contain as furniture and equipment only such things as have been mentioned already which can be made by the teacher and his pupils. The teacher trained under these conditions would find much less difficulty in adjusting himself to the village school to which he is sent.

Another suggestion is that there are large avenues to be explored in regard to *indigenous forms of handwork* which could be taught in schools. The average school in Burma showed great lack of originality in forms of handwork. Almost all the schools had very formal handwork, which showed clearly that the ideas and materials had been imported from the West. One training school, however, showed a most delightful collection of samples of indigenous handwork brought from the villages. The Burmese teacher in charge had assigned to her students as holiday work the task of investigating the kinds of handwork done in their village and bringing back samples of each. The result was a fascinating collection of mats, baskets, fish-traps, bows, arrows, paddles, canoes, ploughs, bullock carts and so forth. An example of the same sort of thing is seen in the needlework which is done in a training school in Western India. There are

certain characteristic stitches used by Kanarese women for ornamenting their clothing. These indigenous stitches have been introduced into the needlework taught to the training students. This is an example of adapting needlework to a particular locality.

The two questions to be explored are: First, what types of handwork are used in a locality, or were formerly used, though they have now died out? Second, what indigenous materials are obtainable, such as cotton, aloe fibre, hemp, rattan, reeds, bamboos, or grass which may be used for cloth-weaving, mat-weaving or any other similar industry? In some cases it may be possible to improve the product usually found in the country, and even to open the gates to new industries. In cases where we are working with people who have risen from the Depressed Classes, it may be necessary to begin with some industry foreign to the locality in order to reduce prejudice and to arouse interest. In any case, work will have to be devised by those who know local conditions, and who feel a real interest in the subject. There is no doubt that such experiments will fill a real need and will develop the natural activities and resources of local communities and make their products more useful and beautiful.

APPENDIX C

SUPERVISION AND THE LAWS OF LEARNING

MASON OLCOTT

The supervisor aims to make sure that the teacher *learns* new ways of teaching. Learning takes place in accordance with certain mental laws. The wise supervisor takes advantage of them in his work, for by means of them lasting results can be obtained.

The first law is that of exercise. *We learn what we practise. We do not learn what we do not practise.* This may sound trite, but it is basic; its application is often forgotten. A teacher learns exactly what he practises, not something that appears like it. He may go through all the motions of good instruction, but not get at the real, inner core. He may appear industrious, but be acting from fear of the inspector. Then he is practising fear, not industry. How shall we use the law of exercise? For one thing, we can encourage the teacher to do things for himself. When we visit, we can have him teach a whole new lesson to a class. The whole is better than a part, for it shows the presence or absence of planning. How many times does he regale us with old lessons that he has taught the same children many times already. We can also give him practice in thinking about real problems, in expressing his ideas and answering questions. As far as possible, we should have him do the kind of thing that is useful even after we have left, not just some show of activity that is trotted out only for special occasions. Demonstration teaching and suggestions on our part are helpful if they guide the teacher's further practice, but not if they are overdone. Moreover, we can emphasize the pupils' practice and centre the teacher's attention upon it.

Another law of learning is that of satisfaction and annoyance. *We learn to follow the ways that bring success and*

satisfaction. We learn not to follow the ways that bring failure and annoyance. In general, we can help the teachers get satisfaction from good teaching and annoyance from bad teaching. Let us give the teacher the satisfaction of knowing when he does well, even in small ways. If we appreciate his good points they will grow stronger. Why do we not explain more to the parents about his hard work and seek their whole-hearted co-operation with him? Why not tell of his special merits to other teachers and to the authorities? If we look hard enough, we can usually find something that he does better than others. Let us do all we can to bring out the good features and then to build on them, instead of emphasising the bad features, of which there are so many. Badness offers no foundation for his assimilating what is new and good. Surprise visits go with inspection, not with supervision. We can connect his satisfactory practices with some broad principle which they illustrate. If the children take some large part in some activity, why not make them always active? Child activity can be applied to every part of school life. Another way to increase satisfaction is to encourage the teacher in his own purposes and projects, and guide him from undesirable to desirable goals. If he has a strong purpose, his happiness in doing what is right will be intensified. This truly aids learning. One of the greatest purposes of all is that of working together with God in spreading love and light amid the hate and darkness of the village. We can convince him of the glorious possibilities of his work and the wonderful resources that God has in store especially for him.

A third law is as follows: *Readiness to act gives satisfaction in acting, but unreadiness gives annoyance.* We can show and tell the teachers just the things that they are ready for. We should listen to what they believe their imperfections are instead of forcing something down their throats for which they have no hunger. We can lead them to ask questions and raise problems. This requires great patience in waiting for opportunities. In this, how much we have to learn from Jesus, the Master Teacher, who told His disciples, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.' Why did He say that? He wanted them to learn those things, but they couldn't do so until they were ready for them.

The last principle of mental development that we shall note is that *we never learn just one thing at a time, always many things*. During our visit, the teacher is not learning merely from our words, but from our actions, our smiles and frowns, from our spirit. Though he drinks in these things as unconsciously as he breathes, they teach him more than the words of our mouths. Our lack of sympathy may kill all the good we do. We should place the teacher's character and service far ahead of his information. In us, too, character is much more effective than information. 'What you are speaks so loud that I cannot hear what you say,' remarked the American seer. If we are enthusiastic for good things, the fire of our enthusiasm will spread. On the other hand, indifference breeds indifference. It is part of our work as supervisors to set a high example of deep loyalty to the highest we know.

APPENDIX D

MEXICO'S NEW SCHOOLS OF ACTION

EXTRACTS FROM 'THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE'

KATHERINE M. COOK

'Rudimentary schools teaching the three R's were unsatisfactory,' says the Director of Rural Education. 'We have now arrived at what we believe a theory of rural education should be. The most important part is that the school is a community agency to lead in community life, help spend leisure, and to guide all community activities. The new type of rural school changes the community.'

Local men and women were selected as teachers for their personal qualifications, including leadership, common sense, belief in the education programme, understanding of their people, and consecration to their service, not for their professional training or academic education (which did not need to cover more than the six-year elementary course). The teachers were '*men and women of good will, physically and morally strong, with an apostolic devotion to their work.*'

Institutes conducted by skilful leaders annually visit different centres and train the teachers in service. During the month of the Institute the teachers study new ideas in education and better methods of school organization and instruction, and learn how to convert their schools into centres for social service by which their communities can better themselves in all ways. They practise physical games and exercises and are trained in rural trades and industries, so as to be able to stimulate local arts and crafts. The Federal Director of Rural Education called such cultural and vocational betterment of the teachers 'an urgently necessary thing, which if it had not been done, we would have made of our promising rural teachers creatures of routine without conscience, without ideals, without spirit.'

Training institutions came years after the first teachers had started their service of the villages inhabited by the aboriginal Indians. The same Director said, 'When we knew what we wanted our teachers to do, we organized normal schools. Their purpose is to offer *training (1) for teaching children, (2) for teaching adults in health and better living, and (3) in organizing communities for social and economic betterment.*' He went on to tell how 'a group of chosen teachers with the vision, the enthusiastic will to do, the temperament and spirit of missionaries' were sent to a big, old ruined house in a state of utter abandonment and commissioned to establish a rural normal school. With their students, 'they set their hand to the task of reconstructing the building and making it appropriate for domestic and scholastic life. They conditioned the crop fields, installed departments for the various rural industries of the region and for stock, domestic, and work animals. The moment they were on the ground they opened school. Now, after a year and a half, the school is owner of 26 hectares of crop land, all of it irrigated. It has harvested abundant crops of corn, sugarcane and vegetables. It has orchards of walnut, avocado and other kinds of fruit trees. The pupils, to the number of 50, are organized in the form of a co-operative which includes various activities, making fibre products; raising chickens; keeping cows, goats, pigs; crop farming; running a bakery and barber shop. The school owns chickens, ducks, guinea hens, horses, 17 head of cattle, a herd of goats and 32 hogs, some of which are Poland China. All these animals were secured by the co-operative society of the school.'

A rural teacher thus tells of the changes in his school: 'When I arrived to take charge of the school the children sat on the floor or on stones which had been provided for that purpose. Now we have strong, comfortable benches and good tables for our work. The children's school now has a department of personal cleanliness, a medicine chest, a library, a little dark room for developing pictures, a chicken house and rabbit pen, a flower garden, a playground, an out-door theatre, and 3 hectares of crop land. All this our children have accomplished themselves, aided by the different organizations formed by me in the community.'

Another teacher describes a representative night school: 'Many come, both men and women. Sometimes there are as many as 50 in a group. They do not attend with the regularity which one would like to have, as their occupations do not always permit this, but always when they do come it is gladly and with real delight. We teach them what we can, but mainly what they especially want to study. Some study reading, some writing; some ask for instruction in small industries and others in agriculture. Women ask for lessons in home economics, especially with reference to cooking and sewing. We have formed different groups according to their interests and needs. While adults study these practical things they are also learning to sing and to play some instruments, as they have a native love of music and beauty . . . I am delighted with the social progress which we are making. The streets are swept now; the outsides of the houses have been whitewashed; the people dress with more cleanliness, are cleaner; excessive drinking is disappearing somewhat; the fly plague is abated; the people vaccinate against small-pox; the whole village come to the festivals and concern themselves with the progress of the children in school.'

The author gives these policies and practices as outstanding and significant: 'The confidence which the whole programme places in the teacher—for leadership and for community interest, as well as for the more definite school activities; there is no question of securing teacher participation—the teacher is the school in every essential sense. The unity of school and community interests and activities and the reality and practicalness of the school projects undertaken; the preparation of materials and building of the schoolhouse are examples. The building up of a curriculum indigenous to the individual communities, unified through its adaptation to general and common situations. The freedom from traditional practices and policies resulting in a programme based on immediate needs and in other progressive practices. The simplicity of the school machinery; the freedom from the servitude of the need for elaborate buildings and equipment is but one example. The emphasis on the practical—economic improvement, for example—without sacrifice of cultural and artistic aims and emphases. The recognition of adult education as a primary essential to

permanence and stability of the programme for educating youth. The emphasis on other than professional qualities in the selection of teachers and the reliance on in-service training to supply the essential professional attitudes and practices, provided the "spirit" was in evidence.'

The local communities start schools, supply the land and erect, equip and maintain the simple buildings. The Government's part is to pay the teachers and train them before and during service.

Such, in brief, is the stimulating experiment in popular education being carried on in the Republic of Mexico, where four-fifths of the population are rural.

APPENDIX E

LATEST FIGURES

	1929	1935	<i>Gain or Loss</i>	
Percentage of Male Pupils to Population ...	7.89	7.59	—	.31
„ „ Female Pupils to Population	1.78	2.20	+	.42
„ „ Total Pupils to Population ...	4.52	4.57	+	.05
Total Pupils (lakhs)	122	135	+	13
„ Expenditure on Pupils (lakhs of rupees)	2,707	2,652	—	55
Expenditure per Pupil (rupees)	22	19	—	3

APPENDIX F

CHOICE BOOKS FOR STUDY

FOR further study of village education and life, some of the more useful books are given below. Those which seem to me specially helpful or stimulating are marked*. In addition, most persons will want to consult the educational reports of their province or of all India, the *Census*, Government reports on conditions in India, and the *Indian Year Books* published by the *Times of India*

I. INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE AND EDUCATION

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- ANSTEY, V. **Economic Development of India*. London: Longmans, 1929. 25s.
- BADEN-POWELL, B. H. *Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1908. 3s 6d.
- BRAYNE and RYBURN. *Socrates at School* London: Oxford University Press, 1935. Re 1.
- CHRISTLIEB, M. L. *An Uphill Road in India*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1927. 6s. Paper, 3s. 6d
- COMMISSION ON VILLAGE EDUCATION. *Village Education in India* London: Oxford University Press, 1922. Re. 1-12
- CONFERENCE ON RURAL RECONSTRUCTION. *Rural Problems* Madras Madras Representative Christian Council, 1930
- COOMARASWAMI, A. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* London: Foulis, 1913.
- DARLING, M. L. *Rusticus Loquitur*. Oxford University Press. 15s
— **The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*. London: Oxford University Press, 1925 11s 6d.
- EMERSON, G. **Voiceless India* New York: Allen and Unwin 1930.
- FARQUHAR, J. N. *The Crown of Hinduisms* Bombay Oxford University Press, 1920. Re. 1-12.
- FLEMING, D J **Schools with a Message in India* London Oxford University Press, 1921. 5s
- GANGULEE, N. *The Indian Peasant and His Environment*. London. Oxford University Press, 1935.

- HATCH, D. S. **Up from Poverty*. Bombay. Oxford University Press, 1932. Rs. 2.
- HOWARD and HOWARD. *The Development of Indian Agriculture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1927 3s.
- JACOB, T. N. *The Reconstruction of the Curriculum of the Elementary School in India* Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1932. Rs. 2. Paper, Re 1-4.
- JAMES, H. R. *Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797-1910*. London: Longmans, 1917. 6s. 6d.
- KEAY, F. E. *Ancient Indian Education* London: Oxford University Press, 1918. 4s. 6d.
- KILPATRICK, W. H. **How We Learn*. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House. Rs. 2. Paper, Re 1-8.
- KRISHNAYYA, G. S. *The Rural Community and the School*. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1932. Rs. 2. Paper, Re 1-4.
- LAJPAT RAI, L. *The Problems of National Education in India*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1920.
- LAL, P. C. *Reconstruction and Education in Rural India*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1932.
- MANN, H. H. *Land and Labour in Deccan Village*. 2 Vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1917. I, 5s ; II, 9s
- MATTHAI, J. *Agricultural Co-operation in India* Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1925.
- *Village Government in British India* London: Fisher Unwin, 1915. 4s. 6d.
- MAYHEW, A. **The Education of India*. London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926. 10s. 6d.
- McKEE, W. J. *Developing a Project Curriculum for Village Schools in India*. Calcutta. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1931. Rs. 4. Paper, Rs. 2-8.
- *Teaching Primary Reading*. Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1924.
- MESTON, W. *Indian Educational Policy* Madras: Christian Literature Society. Rs. 3-12
- MUKERJEE, R. *The Rural Economy of India*. London: Longmans, 1926. 5s
- NARAIN, BRIJ. *Indian Economic Life, Past and Present*. Lahore: Uttar Chand Kapur, 1929.
- PICKETT, J. W. *Christian Mass Movements in India*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1933.
- PILLAI, P. P. *Economic Conditions in India*. London: Routledge, 1925 12s. 6d
- PILLAY, A. P. *Welfare Problems in Rural India* Bombay: Taraporewala, 1931.
- POONA CONFERENCE ON RURAL WORK. *Report*. Nagpur: National Christian Council, 1930.

- RANADIVE, B. T. *Population Problem of India*. Calcutta: Longmans, 1930. 10s. 6d.
- RONALDSHAY, Earl of. *The Heart of Aryavarta*. London: Constable, 1925. 14s.
- RYBURN, W. M. and KING, E. L. **The New Light: A Bible Course for Village Schools*. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House. Rs. 2-8 Paper, Re. 1-8.
- SAHA, K. B. *Economics of Rural Bengal*. Chuckervertty Chatterjee, 1930.
- SIDDALINGAIYA, M. *Reconstructing Elementary Education in Mysore*. Mysore: New Education Fellowship, 1935.
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- **Projects in Indian Education*. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1930. (Out of print).
- VISVESWARAYA, SIR M. *A Planned Economy for India*.
- WADIA and JOSHI. *The Wealth of India*. London: Macmillan, 1925. 21s.

B. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- BENGAL PRESIDENCY: Calcutta—
Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education, 1921, 1922. E. E. BISS.
- INDIA: Calcutta—
Grants-in-aid and Schools of British India. RICHEY. Occasional Reports, No. 12, 1923.
Indian Education Policy, 1904 and 1913
Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928.
**Rural Education in England and the Punjab*. SANDERSON and PARKINSON. Occasional Reports, No. 15, 1928.
**Rural School Teachers in the U.S.A.* WYATT. Occasional Reports, No. 11, 1923.
**Some Experiments in Indian Education*. RICHEY. Occasional Reports, No. 14, 1927.
Training of Teachers. DUNCAN and MACKENZIE. Occasional Reports, No. 8, 1918.
- MADRAS PRESIDENCY: Madras—
**Agricultural Indebtedness*. SATTIANATHAN, 1935.
Survey of Cottage Industries. NARAYANA RAO, 1929.
- MYSORE: Bangalore—
Education Survey in Mysore, Kadur and Bangalore Districts and Bangalore City. KINI. 1929.
Village Improvement Manual. 1917.
- PUNJAB: Lahore—
Agricultural Education Committee Report. 1929.
Rural Section Publications, Board of Economic Enquiry.

C. SERIES AND PERIODICALS

- Christian Education.* Quarterly, Lucknow.
Education of India Series. Calcutta: Y M C.A. Publishing House
Heritage of India Series. Calcutta: Y M.C.A. Publishing House
Sacred Books of the East. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Moga Teachers' Journal. Moga, Punjab

II PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

A. GENERAL SOURCES

- ADAMS, J. *Modern Developments in Educational Practice.* London: University of London Press, 1922. 6s.
 BANCROFT, J. H. **Games for the Playground, Home, School and Gymnasium.* New York: Macmillan, 1918. 11s.
 BONSER and MOSSMAN. **Industrial Arts for Elementary Schools.* New York: Macmillan, 1923. Batsford 10s.
 COLLINGS, E. **An Experiment with a Project Curriculum.* New York: Macmillan, 1923. 10s.
 COOK, K. M. **The House of the People—Mexico's New Schools of Action.* Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1932.
 DEWEY, J. **Democracy and Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1916. 10s. 6d.
 — *The School and Society.* 5th edition. London: P. S. King. 7s.
 GATES, A. I. **Psychology for Students of Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1924. 10s. 6d.
 HELSER, A. D. **Education of Primitive People.* New York: Revell, 1934. 3s. 6d.
 JAMES, W. *Talks to Teachers on Psychology.* London: Macmillan, 1909. 6s. 6d.
 JONES, T. J. *Education in Africa.* New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922. \$2.
 KILPATRICK, W. H. *Education for a Changing Civilization.* New York: Macmillan 4s. 6d.
 — *Foundations of Method.* New York: Macmillan, 1925. 8s. 6d.
 — **The Project Method.* London: Macmillan, 1918. 1s.
 LANDIS and WILLARD. **Rural Adult Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1933. 7s. 6d.
 LEARNED, BAGLEY and OTHERS. **The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools.* New York: Carnegie Foundation, 1920.
 LYNCH, A. J. *Individual Work and the Dalton Plan.* London: George Philip, 1920. 4s. 6d.
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